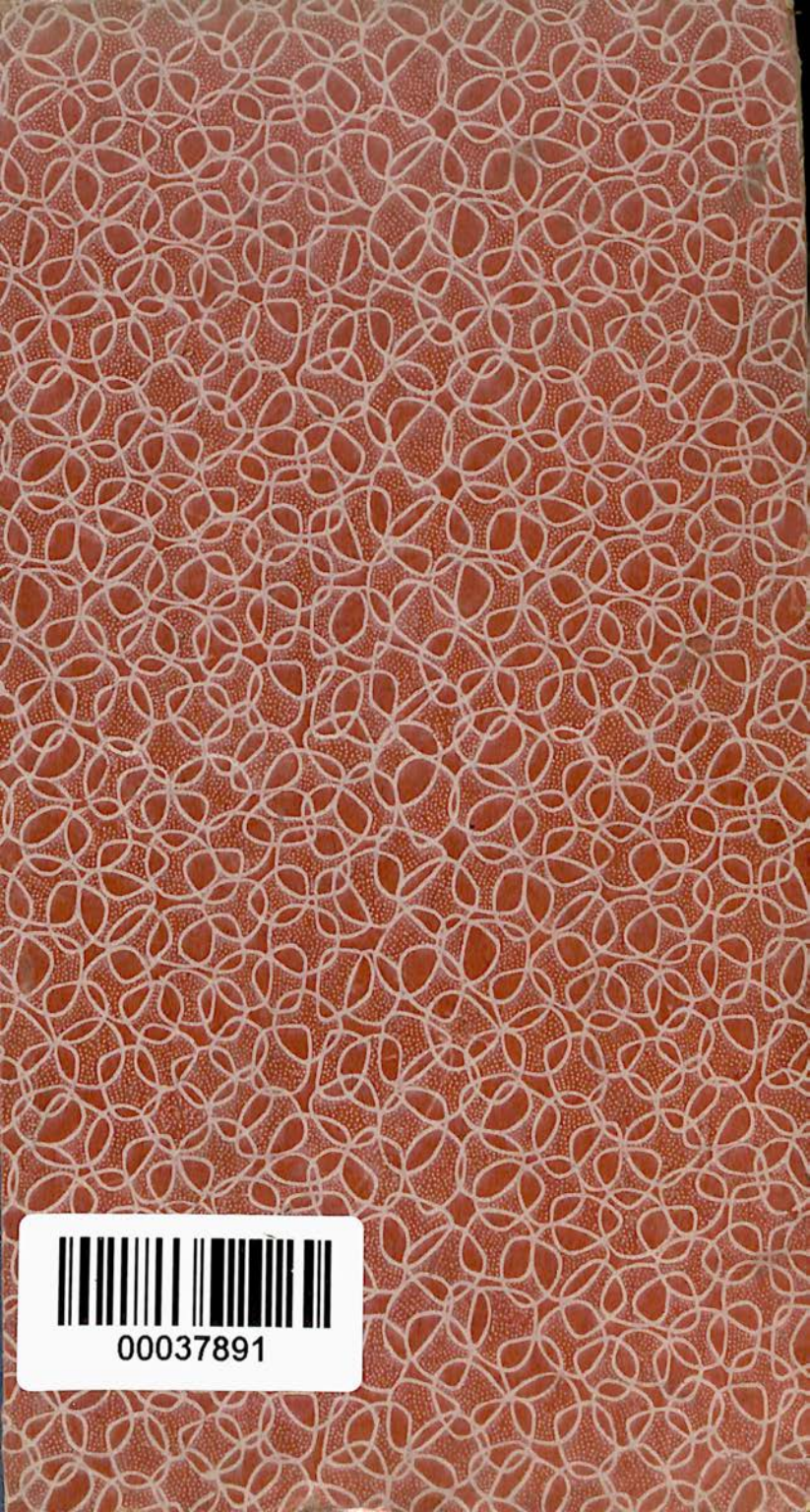
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AND

REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT

OF

HOLLAND.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

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REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT

OF

HOLLAND.

BY

LOUIS BONAPARTE,
EX-KING OF HOLLAND.

Do what you ought, happen what may.

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oc

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

AND

REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT

OF

HOLLAND.

PART V.

1809.

HOLLAND still continued in a state of blockade both by sea and land.

Twent was definitively established in the office of minister of the interior: and the management of the watterstadt, which was under his care, became the principal department in this office.

These changes were visibly displeasing to the nation; but they were the inevitable consequence of the constraint, under which the political and financial state of the country laboured.

On the 13th of January, the project of law for introducing an uniform system of weights and measures, founded on that of France, was proposed to the legislative body. Mr. van Jennep, orator of the government,

gave a statement of it, and explained its motives in the following speech.

" Gentlemen, the inequality of the weights and measures, in use in this kingdom to the present day, has often fettered the administration of justice, occasioned perplexity to individuals, and sometimes given occasion to serious abuses.

" Some years ago this subject attracted the attention of the government, that then ruled the country; but it was soon laid aside among the number of those schemes of improvement, which people are always talking of, but never carry into execution.

" His Majesty, however, soon after his accession to the throne, appointed two committees; one of which, composed of our ablest professors, examined the weights and measures, and drew up an uniform plan for them; while the other, consisting of men of letters, had the task of proposing for them new names.

" These two committees have fulfilled his Majesty's intentions; and the result of their labour is such as might have been expected from

from men, who are justly to be ranked among the most celebrated and enlightened of our country. It has been thought by the former, that among the arrangements suitable for this kingdom might be reckoned and adopted a system, established by the most eminent men of science in France, founded on nature herself, and adopted and introduced into practice by the French government: and, certainly, gentlemen, the beauty, accuracy, and simplicity of this system, have been generally acknowledged by all who are capable of estimating its value.

" This system of weights and measures is founded on the measurement of the circumference of our globe, or of the meridian of Paris.

" In consequence of an order from the French government, the astronomers Mechain and Delambre verified this calculation, which was afterwards adopted by a committee of men of science, natives of France, Holland, and other countries, assembled at Paris in the years 1798 and 1799. Professor van Swinden,

den, president of the National Institution of Holland, was a member of this committee; and, though a foreigner, appointed to draw up the report made by it to the French government. This report was very remarkable for its eloquence, and the purity of its style.

"The quadrant of the meridian is divided into one hundred degrees, instead of ninety; each degree, into a hundred minutes; and each minute, into a hundred seconds. One of these seconds is divided farther into ten equal parts, or *mètres*. The mètre, which in Dutch we should call *meeter**, and which is a ten-millionth part of the quarter of the circumference of the Earth, or the forty-millionth part of the entire circumference, has been taken as the basis of the system; the first principle of which is, that all weights and measures shall be reducible to the metre, or bear a certain proportion to it; the second, that all the multiplications and subdivisions

* *Meter* in the French copy: but *meter* in the Dutch language means a godmother; *meeter*, a measurer. *Tr.*

of

of weights and measures shall be decimal. Conformably to the first principle, the metre, with its multiplications and subdivisions, furnishes the measures of length; the square of the metre, with its multiplications and subdivisions, the measures of surfaces, or superficial measure; the cube of the metre, with its multiplications and subdivisions, solid measure, or measures of capacity. The cube of the tenth part of the metre, called in the French system *litre*, is a measure suitable for fluids and solids; and the same litre which we propose to name in Dutch *kop*, or *kan*, filled with water at its greatest density, determines the basis of weights; so that the measures of length, surface, capacity, and weight, have a natural relation to each other; and thus all are regulated by the metre and by water.

"The other principle, namely, the decimal system, recommends itself by its simplicity; it is calculated also after our manner of reckoning; and it has this farther advantage, that it renders all fractions superfluous in the common business of life.

"The

" The literary committee likewise has presented a report on the Dutch names, which it thinks most proper and most suitable to be adopted.

" These two reports have been examined by his Majesty in the council of state, in presence of two celebrated professors, members of the committees above mentioned; namely, Mr. van Beek Calkoen of the scientific committee, and Mr. Siegenbeck of the literary.

" The result of these discussions has been, that his Majesty has deigned to honour with his approbation the proposed system of weights and measures, and has given us in charge a project of a law, with the Dutch denominations, for this illustrious assembly.

" The beautiful simplicity of this system, the natural connexion existing between all its parts, and the facility of its application to the purposes of common life, are advantages that will not escape your attention; but at the same time it appears to us more than probable, that doubts will arise respecting the mode of rendering this system intelligible to all

all classes, and adapting it to the level of their capacities.

"This consideration, however, gentlemen, would have had more weight, if the Greek and other foreign denominations, employed in the original system, had been retained in the project of the law. But it has been his Majesty's wish, that a preference should be given to names known and already in use, which will contribute very efficaciously to render the practice of this beautiful system more easy, and better suited to all classes of our countrymen*."

The session of the Legislative Body terminated on the 15th of January. On the next day it was convened extraordinarily, to continue sitting till the 15th of March. Devos van Steenvick was appointed president.

The new criminal code, approved and

* This system of weights and measures was approved in 1816 by the present sovereign of the Netherlands, who decreed, with the advice of the legislative bodies, that it should be carried into execution on the 1st of January 1820. *Tr.*

adopted

adopted by the legislative body, was made public, and to be put in force from the month of February in the year following.

A terrible inundation again ravaged Holland at this period. The reports became so alarming, that the King resolved to go himself in person to the spot, to learn with certainty the state in which things were, and judge of the measures that ought to be taken: besides, he availed himself of the opportunity, to acquire, in this point of view, a thorough knowledge of the state of his kingdom.

Before the Rhine reaches Arnheim, it divides itself into two branches, which form and surround the island of Betuwe. One of these, named at first the canal of Pannerden, and afterwards the Leck, passes by Arnheim: the other is the Whaal, which washes the walls of Nimegen opposite the village of Lent, and then flows by Gorcum, Dordrecht, and Rotterdam, at first under the name of the Merve, and afterwards of the Meuse. It retains the name of Whaal only till it joins

joins the Meuse, which takes place before it reaches Gorcum, but in sight of this town. The Merve, or the Whaal and Meuse united, forms near Dordrecht a great number of little branches called *kiels*. These two rivers, in their course through the country to reach Gorcum, run nearly from South to North; so that a thaw has frequently commenced in the upper parts, while towards the mouth the whole is still frozen, both on account of its situation to the North, and in consequence of the embankment and small dimensions of the branches, or kiels, in which the water freezes more solidly, and to a greater depth.

The island or Delta of Betuwe, formed by the two principal branches of the Rhine; or, if you please, by the Leck on the one hand, and the Whaal and the Meuse on the other, is a very fertile country, but very low: its level is scarcely equal to that of the rivers in summer; so that when their waters are very high, either from the melting of the snow in Switzerland, Germany, or France, or from heavy rains, the Betuwe is endangered, being protected

protected only by the dikes that surround it. Besides, it frequently happens, that when the rivers are very full, the tides are high, and repel the current to a great distance from the mouths, where the rivers discharge themselves into the sea. The dikes are then assailed and beaten with double force: and this was precisely the case in January, 1809. A third observation on the topography of this country still remains to be made. A river named the Linge rises in the upper part of the Betuwe at Doornenburg, traverses this island, and falls into the Whaal at Gorcum. This little river itself sometimes does mischief: but when the large rivers invade the island, it increases their ravages by its current, and by the addition of its waters. In consequence a strong dike, called the *Diefdyk*, has been carried through the Betuwe, to defend its inferior part, situate below Gorcum, and called the Five Lordships of the Ablasservaard. The object of this dike is not merely to contain the river, but to stop the inundation of the Betuwe at this point,

point, when it has been found impracticable to secure the superior part from it.

The waters of the Rhine, having found obstacles in the canal of Pannerden, which was choked with ice, had flowed back in a body to the Whaal, and broken through the dike of Betuwe at two points, one at the village of Lent, the other at that of Lœnen. The waters of the Whaal made way into the Betuwe by these two cataracts, and joining the waters of the Linge within, which had also overflowed, they inundated the whole of the island, except the Five Lordships of the Ablasservaard, situate, as has been said, in the lower part of the island, and protected only by the Diefdyk. This dike found itself on a sudden pressed upon and beaten by the bulk of the inundation, which it compelled to follow its direction as far as Gorcum; and this town was threatened at once by the inundation, and by the Whaal, on the bank of which it is built.

It was to the Diefdyk the King first repaired with the officers of the watterstadt.

What

What a melancholy sight was exhibited by this new sea, the waters of which were continually rising, and beating forcibly against the long and feeble rampart of a high and narrow dike, that trembled at every shock of the waves, now nearly risen to its level! The peasants, assembled in a body, according to the custom of the country, were ranged in a line along the dike, and boldly labouring to strengthen it. After having inspected this part, and the town of Gorcum, the King crossed on the 28th of January, not without difficulty, the mouth of the inundation and of the Linge under the walls of the town, and found himself on the grand dike of the Whaal, at the villages of Wieuren and Dalem. The dike had been perforated at this place, to facilitate and hasten the flowing out of the inundation into the Whaal; but while the ruptures of the same dike fifteen leagues higher up, at the villages of Lent and Lœnen, were unconfined, and continued to feed the inundation, no expectation of any visible amendment could be entertained.

The

The rapidity of the waters at this juncture may be estimated from the difference of level between the breaches at Lent and Lœnen, made by the Whaal itself at the time of its irruption, and the cuts necessary for the efflux, which had been made at Wieuren and at Dalem; since through the former the water fell in a cascade from the river into the Betuwe, and through the latter, fifteen leagues lower down, the same waters fell in a cascade from the Betuwe into the river.

The towns, villages, and single houses, were completely blocked up. The buildings situated at the foot of the dike had this refuge alone: and what refuge was a narrow causeway, pressed on and threatened continually by a furious river on one hand, and on the other by a newly formed sea, that was incessantly rising? This long and narrow dike might justly be compared to a path amid the ocean; or indeed to an island, for the extremity, by which the King entered upon it, was such a difficult and dangerous passage, that it might be presumed it would not

not long remain open; and at the upper end towards Nimegen, the ruptures rendered all egress impossible. The persons on this narrow strip of land were in a painful situation. When you were at the points of its various turnings and windings, you seemed entirely isolated in the midst of the inundation: and frequently the water on the two sides of the dike appeared as if it united at the spot to which you were approaching. If to this picture be added that of the wretchedness and gloomy despair of a number of the inhabitants, fallen almost suddenly from a state of competence to that of wanting the most absolute necessaries of life; if we consider the severity of the season, and the difficulty of traversing a country overwhelmed with rain, ice, and the wrecks of the disaster, we may form some idea of this theatre of desolation. The King had the courage and the patience to traverse the whole of it during two days and a night. He proceeded to the town of Tiel; and, after a few hours rest, he went on to the rupture at Lœnen, which

which he inspected with attention, but which it was impossible to pass. He was obliged therefore, for the present, to give up visiting that of Lent, situate beyond the place he had reached. He was obliged a second time to pass over all the inundated places; he succeeded in repassing the mouth of the inundation at Wieuren and at Dalem, but with much expense of time and trouble; and at length returned to Gorcum on the night of the 30th of January.

After his arrival, he was preparing to take a little rest, when accounts were brought him, that part of the city was threatened by the inundation, which passed with the Linge at the foot of the ramparts, to discharge itself into the Whaal. He repaired to the place endangered, accompanied by the minister Twent, his aides-de-camp Krayenhoff and Charles de Bylandt, and the engineers of the watterstadt. The water had made its way through an old house, and penetrated into the city, several streets of which it had already reached. He ordered out the city-

guard, and the carabineers of his own guard, who were garrisoned in the town; and endeavours were made with all speed to fill up this newly formed gulf, by unpaving the streets, knocking down the adjacent houses, and employing all the materials nearest at hand; by means of which the influx of the water was at length stopped. He posted the minister Twent at the town-hall, and was himself constantly in the streets, giving every where the directions he deemed necessary during the whole of the night while the alarm continued. The next day the defences of the city were augmented. A cofferdam of the fortifications, situate on the river, appeared in danger of breaking down; but it was strengthened, and the town was saved. Unfortunately the Diefdyk could not be preserved any longer. About the middle of the day this dike was broken through at the village of Pedichem, not far from Gorcum, and the water rushed with impetuosity over the land of the Ablasservaard, that had been so long protected.

All

All the workmen, with whom the dike was covered, being now useless there, were dismissed, to attend to their own concerns, and the safety of their families. There were no means left of preventing the complete inundation of the Betuwe, to which this last rupture put the finishing stroke: nothing remained, but to take all the necessary measures for the safety of the inhabitants and their property; and we may venture to say, that no human precaution possible was neglected. The dikes of the Ablasservaard were cut at the lowest point, near Papendrecht, in order to prepare beforehand for the discharge of the inundation that was forming. The King sent to the Hague for the landrost of the department, Mr. Haltman, a man of great merit and activity, whose place of residence he provisionally changed, fixing it at Gorcum, to repair the damages and confusion occasioned by the disaster. He afterwards proceeded to Papendrecht, Crems, Nieuport, and Vianen. The last two villages he caused to be intrenched, fortified, and victualled, that

they might serve as places of retreat and asylums for the inhabitants of the Ablasservaard and their cattle; at least for those, whose houses were unable to resist the inundation, or who had lost their dwellings. Asylums and assistance were prepared in addition all along the right bank of the Leck, where many of the inhabitants of the Ablasservaard took refuge.

Young and intelligent naval officers were appointed to keep up a communication between the inundated places. Assistance was conveyed even to the town of Buren, two leagues within the inundation.

During this long and laborious inspection, the King visited every village, and a number of detached houses. He consoled and encouraged the inhabitants to the utmost of his power; and he promptly and amply rewarded those, who exposed themselves the most on the inundation, that he might accelerate and increase the assistance then necessary to be given to so many unfortunate persons.

It was an affecting sight to behold the inhabitants

inhabitants assembled round their solitary houses, or at the entrance of their villages, and sorrowfully repeating: *Dus de dyk es door!*—"Then the dike is broken through!"

The King expressed great satisfaction at the conduct of the ministers of religion. Every one was at his post; was in the midst of his parishioners, encouraging them, consoling them, directing them, and supplying the place of all the different civil officers at once, who were in many cases absent. He particularly noticed the minister of the village of Ochten, Prinsen, and the minister of Doderveert, Hoppe, to whom he gave proofs of his gratitude and esteem. The former was made a knight of the Order of Union. He also expressed great satisfaction with the Baron of Pallandt-Barlandt, commissary-general of the watterstadt; and Mr. Gevers van Endegeest, also a commissary-general of the watterstadt, who at Kuylenburg supplied the place of drossart of that quarter of Guelderland, an old man, and absent, being confined by the water to his country-house in the neighbourhood

neighbourhood of the village of Lent. Mr. Repelaart, drossart of the quarter of Dordrecht, distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion to his duties; as did the young auditor van Doorn, then in waiting on the King. The inspector-general of the watterstadt, Blanken, displayed not less talents than zeal. The dykgraf Vermeulen saved a score of sick persons at Hervyken, on the left bank of the Whaal. J. Aalberts, a boatman, of the village of Loenen, distinguished himself by his exertions to rescue his countrymen. Three brothers of the name of van Vissen, of Tiel, one of whom was an officer of the burgessry, accompanied by the young Kreutof, got to Eymeren, two leagues within the inundation, to Midel, and to Spiberg, and saved ten persons, among whom were the family of Van Zœlen. On all marks of gratitude were bestowed. Blanken, the Baron of Pallandt, van Doorn, Gevers van Endegeest, and Repelaart, received the cross of the Union; van Vissen the elder a gold-hilted sword; &c.

In this circuit the King separated the government

vernment of the territory of Tiel from that of Bommel. These two districts, though divided from each other by the river Whaal, had been united under one magistrate (*ambtman*), and this great inconvenience was particularly felt under the present circumstances. He became sensible also of the mischief of a tax on boats in countries exposed to inundations; for since this tax had been imposed, the number of boats had sensibly decreased, and the want of them was strongly felt on this critical occasion. He suspended the payment of all taxes in the inundated districts.

As soon as he arrived at Utrecht, he formed a central committee of the watterstadt. The celebrated professor van Swinden was appointed president, and it was composed of the able engineers Blanken, Goudrian, his aide-de-camp colonel Krayenhoff, professor Van Beck Calkoen, &c. He conferred with them on the means of placing in safety those parts of the territory, that were most exposed, and on drawing up a general plan of improvement. He then left Utrecht, visited Kuylenburg,

burg, and all the dikes from the Leck as far as Arnheim, Huissen, and Lent. There he inspected the first breach, which he had not been able to visit on passing through Tiel. He crossed the cascade in a boat, and visited the part of the dike that was isolated between the two breaches. He assured himself, that the works, which were carrying on to surround them, were solidly constructed: for he was aware, that the owners of the land, in order to lose as little ground as possible, frequently began the new works too near the edge of the breach; whence it happened, that the new barrier gave way, and caused a second inundation more terrible than the first. He then crossed the Whaal, and proceeded to Nimegen, which had suffered much from the inundation. He went and inspected the ground between this town and Krayemburg, in order to satisfy himself with his own eyes of the impossibility of forming in that part of Brabant canals of reserve, to receive the superfluous waters on similar occasions.

Thus

Thus he acquired a complete knowledge of the situation of the country with regard to its watterstadt, and returned to Amsterdam. Immediately after his arrival, he employed himself seriously on the means of furnishing the necessary assistance to the inhabitants of the inundated countries. On this occasion also the Dutch nation distinguished itself by its generosity. There was not a person who was backward in contributing to the relief of his countrymen: children were seen to offer their savings, soldiers their pay, workmen and servants their wages. The city of Leyden alone, which had scarcely recovered from the disaster of 1807, contributed near fifty thousand florins.

The important labour respecting religious worship was carried into execution. The following speech was delivered by the pastor Delprat, president of the Protestant committee, in connexion with the minister of the interior, when this committee was presented to the King previous to his departure for the inundation.

" Sire,

"Sire, the task to which an honourable confidence calls us is extremely delicate. To combine an inviolable attachment to the religion we profess in common with the greater part of the realm, with the impartiality, toleration, and liberal ideas, that ought to characterize every true Protestant; scrupulously to distinguish this religion from the accessories in its forms of worship, that are matters of indifference; courageously to submit to the crucible of discussion practices and ceremonies, that are so much the more respected, because they have antiquity in their favour, and relate to religious objects; to endeavour to introduce into the system of public worship more simplicity, uniformity, or analogy, with the present form of government; to bring to this task, which requires to enter into innumerable and complicated details, on the one hand all that celerity which your Majesty's wishes excite, and on the other that mature deliberation which does not content itself with half measures, and provisional palliatives, but regulates things definitively; to yield with

with prudence to what circumstances require; to set, if necessary, an example of generosity, by making private interest yield to the general good; strengthened by the consciousness of acting uprightly, to console ourselves, perhaps, for not obtaining the general approbation of those, whose cause we wish to serve; above all, sire, fully relying ourselves on the principles and formal declarations of your Majesty, with regard to the preservation of the Protestant religion in all its integrity; to endeavour to inspire others with the same confidence, to dissipate all uneasiness on this subject, disperse every cloud, profit of this intimate persuasion to conciliate beforehand assent to the eventual plans of its organization, cause this important occasion to cement more closely the bonds, that attach a religious people to its King, and thus equally to merit the approbation of the throne and the altar: such, sire, is the expression of our duties, our intentions, and at the same time the difficulties that await us. Your Majesty yourself knows too well those, that accompany every great

great undertaking, not to appreciate them fully. Let us be permitted to say, it is your example that will serve us as a stimulus. Like you .... but respect suppresses that overflow of the heart, that would impel me to utter the praises of my king. O, may Heaven, listening to our prayers for his preservation, long defer that period, when we may be allowed to praise your Majesty without restraint!

"If our endeavours be crowned with success, the organization of the Protestant religion will not be one of the least memorials of a reign, already rendered illustrious by so many laborious undertakings. May this success answer your Majesty's expectations: and the Protestant religion, henceforward established on a basis not to be shaken, display all its influence on the morality and happiness of the realm; cause us to bless the reign of your Majesty; and call down upon our churches, and upon this committee, that protection and good will, to which the sentiments that inspire us give us perhaps some claim."

The

The King answered: "that he greatly approved the sentiments by which the members of this committee were animated: that in choosing them his object was, to call to the assistance of the administration of public worship persons who were justly entitled to the confidence and esteem of the other members of their community, and had given their country and their King proofs of their enlightened and patriotic sentiments: that he availed himself of this occasion, as he had of every other that had presented itself, to recommend to them to assure the other members of their community, and particularly the ministers of religion, not only of his protection, which they had a right to expect, but also of his esteem and good will; and that, though he neither could nor would ever interfere with the doctrines and belief of each community; his first duty was, and always would be, to secure and guaranty to every one the free exercise of the religion of his forefathers, and to preserve to them such advantages, as were not prejudicial to others, and they had acquired

quired a title to by long possession: that all the members of the different Christian communities have equal rights, and equally claim his care: that he can look without any regard, and with contempt only on men who have no religion: and, in fine, that the Protestants have so much the more reason to depend on the continuance of his favourable sentiments towards them, as he daily experiences more and more, that they are strongly attached to the existence of their nation, that they form the most numerous portion of it, and that consequently the King had an identity of opinion, sentiments, and wishes, with them, on this essential object, which might be considered with reason as of all the most important."

The war in Spain had assumed a frightful character. An order, published by the Junta of Seville, on the 4th of January, directed every Spanish village, that should make no resistance, on the approach of the French, to be committed to the flames; all the magazines to be burned, rather than delivered up;

to

to set fire to the country through which the French armies had to pass; to drain the springs, &c. The English continued their retreat towards Corunna. In the beginning of January the French head-quarters were at Astorga. On the 2d, Soult received orders to pursue the English: he soon found himself engaged with the rear-guard, and defeated it. On the 5th, the French head-quarters were at Benevento; and on the 7th, at Valladolid.

About this time St. Cyr obtained a victory over the insurgents in Catalonia. On the 11th of January the Dutch brigade under the command of general Chassé was in garrison at Aranjuez, except the horse-artillery, the train, and the miners, who remained at Madrid, under the command of major Steinmitz. A new corps of infantry was sent from Holland to reinforce them, and was at Bayonne on the 28th.

The military chest of the English fell in part into the hands of the French, who endeavoured in vain to come to an engagement with the enemy. At length, on the 16th,

a battle

a battle was fought on the sea-coast, near Corunna. The French gained the victory*. The English lost general Hamilton, the brave general Moore, and general Hope; the rest of their army escaped on board the fleet. In consequence of this victory, Corunna surrendered to the French, where they found several sail of the line.

England concluded a treaty of alliance with the Spanish junta. She engaged to assist the Spaniards with all her forces; and to acknowledge no person as king, who should not be acknowledged by the nation. The Spaniards, on their part, promised, not to cede any portion of their monarchy.

The hostile measures adopted by Austria,

* How happened the *victorious* French to suffer the defeated English to embark quietly on board their transports, without attempting to enter Corunna till they were gone? The author is mistaken in another point. There was no general Hamilton in the engagement, and general Hope has since fought the battles of his country, and is enjoying the honorary reward bestowed on him by his sovereign, under the title of Lord Hopetown. *Tr.*

its

its armaments, and its proceedings, recalled the Emperor Napoleon to Paris. He set out from Valladolid on the 17th of January, and arrived at Paris on the 23d, at ten o'clock in the morning, having travelled with astonishing rapidity.

The bombardment of Saragossa commenced. Marshal Lannes took the place of marshal Moncey in conducting the siege.

The greater part of Spain had submitted; and the French had even penetrated into Portugal. Vigo had capitulated, general Franceschi had entered Tuy, and marshal Soult was marching for Oporto.

Trade was less harassed in 1809: the year 1808 had been most fatal to it. On the 15th of January peace was concluded between Turkey and England, and the commercial relations of these two states were restored on their ancient footing.

The Spanish ports subject to the insurgents were opened to the English, who themselves occupied those of Portugal. Austria had already secretly renewed its connexion with

England; and did not long defer openly declaring itself the ally of this power.

Russia had adopted the continental system in compliance with France; but she soon began to slacken her energy and measures against the commerce of England. This was the motive alleged subsequently by France, namely in 1812, for making war on her.

The King and Queen of Prussia made a journey to Russia. They arrived at St. Petersburgh on the 7th of January, and were received with great demonstrations of joy. They returned to Konigsberg on the 10th of February.

There is an ancient practice in Holland, that of devoting a day to thanksgiving and public prayers, to thank God for his mercies, and to entreat him to avert the evils, that are constantly threatening the state. For this act of devotion the King appointed Wednesday, the 22d of February. The minister of public worship, Mollerus, assigned as the motives for it the foreign war, from which the kingdom had been preserved, the misfortunes

of

of the late years, the disaster of Leyden, the inundation of 1808, and that of the present year, and, in fine, the annihilation of commerce.

The situation of Holland was most sad. The King hoped, that a remedy would spring from the very excess of its calamities. He suffered more from them than any one, as every person was convinced, both at home and abroad; yet it was precisely at this moment, on occasion of the day of fasting and prayer, that the new minister of Vilpen, a village situate a few leagues from the capital in North Holland, indulged himself in a sally of the most violent nature. This village and its vicinity were inhabited by a great number of the principal persons of the capital, most of whom were attached to the court. General indignation was excited, and many of the audience did not fail to express it. Some called for the punishment of the author of a discourse as calumnious as malignant, and so little consistent with the purpose the government had in view, in ordering a day of fasting

and prayer. The pastor was sent for by the ministers both of the police and of the interior. The King was desirous of seeing him. He was a very young man, and appeared not without agitation. He deserved severe punishment; and the King was requested to inflict it on him, to make him an example to such as might be tempted to imitate his conduct: but the King would do it only in his own way. He received him coldly, but politely; demanded of him an account of the whole; caused all the expressions the pastor had used to be repeated; then painted to him his own situation and that of the kingdom; and obliged him to confess, that he had been as cruel as unjust in blaming the government. The young man was convinced of his injustice, promised to alter his conduct completely, and they parted good friends. In fact, he voluntarily made public atonement for it in his own church, and afterwards conducted himself in an exemplary manner. When it was proposed to the King to punish him severely, he answered: "It is of more import-

ance

ance to me to convince him, than to punish him."

Marshals Dumonceau and de Winter were recalled, and admitted into the council of state. The great round of the coasts was entrusted to lieutenant-general Bruce, and the squadron in the Texel was placed under the command of rear-admiral Bloys van Treslong.

The court of Austria continued its preparations for war. The Emperor Napoleon, returned to Paris, required the Prince Primate to write a circular letter to the members of the Confederation, to set on foot their contingents.

The war with Austria was inevitable. Part of the French troops were recalled from Spain: the war of pens, which always proceeded that of words, began.

Saragossa, after being nearly reduced to ashes, surrendered at discretion on the 21st of February. Marshal Lannes granted a general pardon to this unfortunate and interesting city. Palifox, who commanded there, remained

remained a prisoner of war, and was conveyed to France. It was at Saragossa a party was formed, that invited Prince Charles of Austria to the throne of Spain.

Permission was given in France to American vessels, to return directly to America. They were placed at the disposition of the American minister at Paris, Mr. Armstrong, on condition of going straight to an American port. They were required to give bonds, that the cargoes they carried to America were entirely the produce of the territories of the empire, and that they had no article of trade belonging to England or her colonies.

General Andreossi, the French minister at Vienna, quitted that city on the 28th of February, and left M. Dodun, as *chargé d'affaires*.

In the beginning of March the King made a tour in the department of Over-Yssel. The purpose of this journey was to inspect the country, with a view to the grand scheme of the watterstadt, the enlargement of the bed of the Yssel; to examine into the state of the finances

finances of the communes; and to conciliate the differences that existed between the Catholics and Protestants, regarding the possession of the churches. He visited Haltem, Zwoll, Deventer, and most of the villages. Every where he took cognizance of the state of the finances; and redressed, as far as was in his power, the grievances of the administrations of the communes, and of individuals. In particular he examined the dikes, which had suffered greatly on the breaking up of the ice in the rivers.

After Deventer, he visited Hasselt and Gemuiden, Zwarte-Sluis and Niewe-Sluis. These two villages, separated only by a bridge, were united under one administration. On the representations of the magistrate of Hasselt, a church was granted to the Catholics. He ordered the road from Hasselt to Staphorst and Rooveen to be repaired. The family van Merle received permission to cut a canal, for the purpose of working some turbaries, on the condition, that this canal should

should be no injury to that forming from Zwool to Hardenberg.

The little town of Gemuiden was in a flourishing state. Its population scarcely amounts to a thousand inhabitants: it had then a revenue of ten thousand florins, no annual deficiency, and no additional pennies.

He ordered the road from Gemuiden to Campen to be repaired, and was received in the latter town with great demonstrations of joy. On the 7th of March, after having given audience to the public authorities, and the ministers of the different religions, he visited the town-hall, the cathedral, and the manufactories; among which he distinguished that of plush and of woollen rugs. The Catholics received the church called *Buitenkerk*, and the ramparts were conceded to the town. He expressed his satisfaction at the flourishing state of this fine town to the burgomaster Baron du Hert. The village of Isselmuiden received assistance for repairing the causeway that leads to Campen. On his return to Zwoll,

Zwoll, he visited the dike called the Vestkade, which protects the town from the inundation, when the plain of Zwoll is covered by it. He ordered likewise the construction of a great sluice at Zwoll, to protect the town from high tides.

In forming the general budget of the state, several reimbursements owing to several towns were suppressed. The King indemnified that of Zwoll in this respect by the cession of fortifications and buildings, with which the state could dispense. He ceded to it also the sums, that the town was indebted to the public treasury; which he could do, as their receipt had not entered into the caculations of the budget.

The commune of Raalte obtained the continuation of the canal, called Vetering, to be extended till it reached it.

At Zutphen he remarked, that the orphans enjoyed a better state of health than in other places: their countenances were less sallow, and their bellies not so large. This confirmed and justified the injunction often repeated

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to the administrations, not to confine the children entirely to a milk and vegetable diet.

The manufactory of printed cottons of Versteel, and the tan-pits and manufactory of Bisschop, were flourishing.

The Catholics received the church of Nieuwe-Staadt, or St. Jenskerk. The merchants obtained their wish, that the little river, called the Berkel, should be rendered navigable in all seasons to the frontiers of the kingdom. The waters in these parts had such a direction given them, that the navigation of the Schipbeek and that of the Berkel should not be reciprocally injurious to each other. The construction of the sluice, that had been long promised, to open the navigation from the interior of the town to the Yssel, was granted.

After having visited the dike called the Canondyk, he repaired to Groll and Wardirsveld, where he ordered the bridge to be rebuilt, that had been swept away by the inundation.

The

The little town of Lœchem is remarkable for its mines of Rhenish pebbles (*mines de cailloux du Rhin*), and Winteeswyn for its manufactory of fustian and cotton. He proceeded next to Breedwoord and to Alten. At the first of these villages he visited the studs, which he had established three years before, and which were in a prosperous state. Among them were a great number of stallions of the pure English breed, which had been procured from Great Britain through the exertions, intelligence, and zeal of the inspector van Hoorick. This stud had already furnished stallions for the third time in all the provinces of the kingdom.

The rebuilding of the bridge carried away by the inundation at Deutichem, and that of the catholic church in the same town, were determined on. The catholic seminary at Sheerenberg received a library, and the number of pupils was increased to sixty.

At Keppel, the King visited the sluice of the old Yssel, and the iron foundery of Mr. van Hemert.

He

He granted to the city of Doesbourg the construction of a large sluice between the old Yssel and the Yssel properly so called, and the repairing of the great church. He afterwards entered Loo.

It has been mentioned, that the Emperor Napoleon, having called the Grand Duke of Berg to the throne of Naples, had caused possession to be taken of the Grand Duchy in his own name.

On the 3rd of March he disposed of it in favour of the Prince Royal of Holland, in the following manner.

"Napoleon, by the grace of God, &c. Prince Joachim, Grand Duke of Berg and of Cleves, now King of Naples, having ceded to us, by the treaty concluded at Bayonne, on the 15th of July, 1808, the Grand Duchy of Berg and of Cleves, with the states annexed to them, we have resolved to cede, and we cede by these presents, the said Grand Duchy of Berg and of Cleves to our nephew, the Prince Napoleon Louis, eldest

eldest son of our well-beloved brother the King of Holland, to be held by the said Prince Napoleon Louis in full sovereignty, and transmitted hereditarily to his immediate descendants, natural and legitimate, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females, and their descendants. Should the immediate, male, natural, and legitimate descent from the said Prince Napoleon Louis become extinct, which God forbid; or the said Prince, or his successors, when called to ascend the throne, in consequence of their eventual rights of succession, be without male children at the time of their accession; we reserve to ourself and our successors the right of disposing of the said Grand Duchy, and transmitting it as we shall choose, according to what we shall deem conducive to the good of our people, and the interest of our crown.

"We equally reserve to ourself the government and administration of the Grand Duchy of Berg and of Cleves, till the moment when the

the Prince Napoleon Louis comes of age: and we take upon ourself from the present moment the guardianship and education of the said Prince, a minor, conformably to the arrangements under the 3rd head of the 1st statute of our imperial house.

"Given at our palace of the Tuileries, the 3rd of March, 1809."

The King received this news, without any previous intimation, while he was on his journey; and communicated it to his council of state, and to the Legislative Body, on the 12th of March, by the following letter.

"Gentlemen, a letter from the Emperor my brother announces to me the agreeable and unexpected news, that he has disposed of the Grand Duchy of Berg in favour of my son Napoleon Louis, the Prince Royal. I am desirous of communicating it without a moment's delay to the members of my council of state, and of the Legislative Body, as a mark

mark of my gratitude for the continual proofs they give me of their attachment to their country, and to myself; and it is my first thought, after having thanked the Emperor my brother for an event, which I justly consider as the most favourable omen for the happiness of my people, and that of my beloved son, who, after the troublesome and stormy period of my reign, will thus be enabled to consolidate the existence of this country, and give it that ease and indemnification, which it will find for a long time necessary.

"The nation will see also in this an incontestable proof of the good disposition of my brother and of France towards this country; and it ought to impose silence on the discourses and cabals of the intriguing and the superficial. Though I shall soon follow this letter, my journey being at an end, I was unwilling to defer sending this information, my journey having occasioned the courier to be so much delayed, that he did not reach

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me till yesterday in the evening. Hereupon, gentlemen, &c.

"Assen, the 12th of March, 1809."

The King was extremely pleased with this donation, because he thought he had discovered it to be the secret intention of the Emperor, to give it to Holland, as this suited the interests of France, but without allowing it to be enjoyed by the present King, with whom the Emperor was visibly displeased. Two things in this act however could not fail to hurt him more than the preceding consideration. The first was, the not having been previously advised of arrangements so essentially interesting to his son, and the being informed of the cession by a simple letter. The second, and the most painful of the considerations to which it gave rise, was to find, that his son was separated from him for ever, and he deprived of his indisputable right of having him under his guidance and protection, without his consent, and even without

without being consulted. He did not give vent however to the resentment arising from his affection; he hoped, that such compulsory sacrifices would not have a durable effect on this very account; and that at least they would serve at some future day to enlarge Holland with the whole of the Grand Duchy of Berg, and of furnishing the kingdom with the means of raising itself from a long state of suffering.

During the years 1806 and 1807, East Friesland had supported none of the ordinary or war taxes of the realm: its contribution for 1808 had been fixed at two millions. The King purposed to visit this department, and to diminish the assessment, if it were disproportionate to the means of those who had to pay it. He could not continue his journey however, on account of the political circumstances of the country, which prevented him from absenting himself too far from the centre of business: but having received fresh remonstrances from East Friesland, he reduced the

contribution of the year to one half, of his own accord.

On the 15th of March, the minister of the interior closed the ordinary session of the Legislative Body, and the next day, the 16th, it was assembled extraordinarily. Mr. de Vos was re-chosen president. The principal subject of discussion during this session was the project of a law relative to the nobility. Baron and first chamberlain van Pallandt van Eerdt, counsellor of state, was appointed to present it. The project was adopted; but it would be superfluous to report it, or the speech delivered by Baron van Pallandt on the occasion, as it was of short continuance. It was distinguished from the French laws on this subject by some striking differences. 1st. All the ancient nobility of the country was acknowledged: for this proceeding respecting the nobility was intended and could only be preliminary to the definitive proceeding on the constitution projected for the period of the general peace.

peace. There was then no reason to degrade the ancient nobles under a government, to which they had submitted almost without exception, and which they served with loyalty. Hence it may be understood, why the King would merely acknowledge in the first place the ancient titles, having them confirmed by a college of heralds, which he instituted; and next reserve to himself the right of adding to the body of nobility all the new members, whom he should think worthy of it, which, far from being unfavourable to the latter, was on the contrary very advantageous to them, since the old nobility diffused over them the lustre, which their names had acquired from time. 2d. The second remarkable difference from the new French nobility regarded fortune. The establishment of considerable birth-rights (*majorats*) in Holland would have been very prejudicial, for the mediocrity and division of fortune always contributed to the happiness of the Dutch, among whom the total sum of wealth is great, but there are few colossal fortunes: we may even say none.

The novelties respecting the nobility were confined to the institution of an heraldic college, and the acknowledgment of a *constitutional* nobility; because he could only hint at the improvements and institutions necessary in a country under the minute inspection of agents of the French government, which would not assent to any change, that differed in the least degree from the French institutions. The 3d difference was the establishment of a certain number of estates, to which were attached the titles of counties or baronies; and which the King reserved, to give to those persons, who had claims to reward, on condition, that such domains should revert to the crown, in failure of direct descendants.

It is this last arrangement, which the King considered as the only true and constitutional basis of a free though monarchical government: that is to say, he would have wished so to regulate this institution, that in course of time there should be no other titles than those annexed to estates, and no estates conferring

ferring titles but those derived from the crown, with which it had rewarded its friends and servants: at their death these estates should revert to the crown, and should not come into the possession of the son, without a fresh donation from the king, made on his coming of age, if he deserved the favour*. For nobility is honourable and real only when joined with personal merit†, without which it seems at variance with its institution. If it consist in the due reward of tried services, merit, and talents, is it not contradictory, to grant it beforehand by inheritance? The lustre and interest of nobility itself requires, that the son of a gentleman should be preferred to succeed his father, if equal to him in merit; but never without merit, and without any other title than that of birth. It is in the family on the throne only, that hereditary succession seems indispensable; be-

* In the close of the preceding paragraph it was only in case of failure of direct heirs. *Tr.*

† "Nobilitas est sola atque unica virtus." Juvenal. *Tr.*

cause

cause this is established not for the interest and advantage of the members of this family, but for the benefit of the community: for it is in this case a kind of magistracy.

On the 29th of March the King sent the following message to the Legislative Body.

"Gentlemen, the situation of a great part of the land on which we dwell becomes more dangerous every year. The ravages of the last winter have been terrible; more from the dangers, with which they have threatened the greater part of the soil of the realm, than from the calamities we actually witnessed; still more by making us sensible of the magnitude and difficulties of the means indispensable for the security of our territory; and yet more by the apprehensions of the future.

"We must not look to the past for our future protection. We must not think, that, because we have escaped from great misfortunes, we shall always escape; and consequently have no need of extraordinary measures,

measures, but that it will be sufficient, to take the same precautions, as have ever been taken hitherto.

"We ought to thank Providence, that amid the disasters and victims of each winter, it has preserved us from greater calamities: and consider the absence of greater calamities as a warning, that is repeated to us every year, to employ all the means in our power, to secure the national existence of the country.

"The Hollanders are countrymen of those, to whom your nation owes its existence, its glory, and its name. It is not enough to display heroic courage and resignation in those moments, when dangers or disasters are inevitable: we must dare to look things in the face, and, since they require it, make all the efforts humanly possible, without restriction, and without private consideration. It is when we have done our utmost, to prevent dangers and misfortunes, that we can await them with tranquillity: but it is too painful to witness evils, against which, when they

they arrive, there is nothing to protect us, and from which there is no remedy. The greatest efforts, let them be carried to the utmost stretch, are still ever inadequate to the demands of the moment; a situation insupportable, when we have the consciousness, that they might have been prevented, or greatly diminished. It was from this conviction, that even in the midst of the winter just finished, we were occupied in seeking salutary and effectual means for the winter to come. These measures exist, and it is possible to carry them into practice in great part before the month of December.

"We have made known our intentions to the most experienced men; we have discussed their plans; those which we shall adopt will have the sanction of their talents and reputation.

"But the execution of this scheme in so short a space of time demands and impels extraordinary measures and enormous expenses. The budget of the year cannot furnish them. The financial system is definitely decreed,

decreed, and it is impossible to alter it, even for a purpose so important. It is equally impossible to increase the public burdens, which the unhappy circumstances of the war have already rendered so heavy.

" Gentlemen, you will see by the project of a law presented to you, that these means are capable of supplying the expenses of the watterstadt for the grand object, that we propose to ourselves this year. It does not increase the burdens, the weight of which we feel and know. Neither does it increase the public debt; or alter our financial system, which would be impracticable. This measure would be a pecuniary sacrifice on the part of those, who participate in it, if all did not find their interest in the general good, if our object were not the preservation and safety of the community, in which every thing is comprised.

" But the month of March is already elapsed. The short period, that separates us from the coming winter, will be insufficient for all there is to do, without the greatest

greatest activity, the most strenuous co-operation, the utmost zeal. We appeal therefore to the nation: let every one be eager to participate in the measure proposed to you: let it be considered, not as a financial operation, but as an extraordinary charge. For this reason the interest must be calculated and proportioned according to the sum required, and the value of the only security at this time capable of being pledged. If the burden be the lightest possible; if in our present situation it be the most worthy of the nation, and most suitable to it; let the nation be convinced, that we feel the full weight of the circumstances of the war, and of the burdens that press upon all; and let it induce the people, to concur with all its means, and to unite all its endeavours, for the welfare and care of the community.

"Given, &c. at Amsterdam, the 29th of March, 1809."

The following is the decree:

"Art. I. A sum of six millions of florins, to

to be raised in the manner hereafter mentioned, shall be particularly appropriated to defray the expenses of the current year.

" II. In order to raise the said sum of six millions of florins, a voluntary loan shall be opened at the public treasury, till the said sum be subscribed, bearing an interest of four per cent.

" III. The said loan shall be secured by domains yielding a clear income of two hundred and forty thousand florins a year, which shall be assigned to it as particular mortgages; namely, national domains not previously mortgaged, to the clear value of a hundred and forty thousand florins a year; and royal domains in East Friesland, also not mortgaged, to the clear annual value of a hundred thousand florins.

" IV. The loan above-mentioned shall be reimbursed by the successive sales of the domains particularly mortgaged to it; and the sale shall commence as soon as possible.

" V. In order the more effectually to secure the reimbursement of this loan, the purchase

purchase money of the domains assigned shall be paid only in debentures (*los veinten*) issued for the present loan; except so far as is necessary, to defray the expenses of sale, and sums too small to be paid in debentures.

"VI. That the stipulations of Art. V. may have their full effect, the present loan shall not be entered in the great book of the public debt; but debentures with checks (*coupons*) shall be given to the parties concerned. In these debentures shall be inserted the names of the domains assigned to them as particular mortgages, and their annual value.

"VII. The purchase money of the domains mortgaged by us for this loan shall be reimbursed at our treasury, without any interest, on the 1st of January, 1827, or at any less distant period, that the state of the public treasury and of the finances of the kingdom may admit."

The project of this law was accompanied with a discourse delivered by the counsellor of

of state Elout, an able and eloquent civilian. It will here be a proper place to speak of the state of the kingdom with regard to the watterstadt; and to notice the works executed during the King's reign. (See Supplement, No. I.)

The condition of the watterstadt is the most essential object in Holland. It is a matter of urgent necessity, to secure the land, as far as human prudence can flatter itself with doing it, against the ravages of the sea, and more particularly of the rivers; and to adopt on this head a general system, which has always been wanting in Holland, as has been already said. This system, to be complete, would require a great deal of time and expense: but, if once undertaken, it might be finished in time, if not discontinued; and this without crowding dikes upon dikes, to answer particular wants or interests. It consists in adopting as a basis the course and situation of the rivers and coasts, without regarding the divisions of property. The chief thing to be done is to open

open a free passage to the rivers in the *Betuwe*, and the other low points of the country, by lowering the dikes, and raising the ground on which the villages and houses are built. This would place these parts of the country out of danger during the winter; and in such a situation, that their soil would be annually gaining in height by the slow but progressive addition, that the mud brought down by the swelling of the waters would give. Thus the Delta in Egypt is annually fertilized; and, far from being endangered by the approach of the inundation, that country receives from it all its advantages.

It is astonishing, that a system so beneficial, so simple, so economical, so necessary to Holland, the territory of which is in much more danger than that of Lower Egypt, has not been long ago adopted, nay was not always followed. However, when we consider the two radical vices of the national character; the dread of change, and the regard paid to the family, town, or province; we can understand how, in spite of common

sense,

sense, and so many disasters, and notwithstanding the warnings given by so many little interior seas, the Dutch continue to multiply dikes on one another, and secure themselves merely for the moment, at a vast expense, without regard to future dangers, which this blindness augments in two ways; both by multiplying the evils, and by rendering the general improvement more difficult every year. Bruenings, Conrad, and lastly Beyring of Arnheim, who died in 1808, to the great sorrow of the King, and all the other able engineers, whom the country had possessed at different periods, have felt this truth; but they found it impossible to make the people listen to them. Perhaps the King might have accomplished this: the misfortunes of the watterstadt under his reign, misfortunes almost continual, would have furnished him in a few years with the means of leading the nation to embrace his opinion and his ardour on a subject of such importance.

The last decree for closing the ports of Holland

Holland was in force only to the 31st of March. As the King could not abrogate it, he was desirous at least of modifying it, and bringing all the measures regarding this affair to a perfect harmony with what was practising in France. Accordingly he created a director-general of the customs, whose office was chiefly to see, that the measures against the trade of the English were carried into execution. Hitherto the superintendance of this business had been entrusted to the minister of finance; but the numerous occupations he had on his hands did not allow him to attend solely to this inspection. The following was the decree.

"Considering, that the term of our decree of the 27th of November, 1808, No. 5, will expire on the 31st of this month: considering, that it is necessary at this moment to take such measures, either to renew the decree above mentioned, or to put again in vigour the preceding decrees, or lastly to substitute in whole or in part other measures, calculated

lated to place all affairs relating to navigation in perfect harmony with the system of France and the Emperor our brother, and desirous always of inclining towards this essential object (notwithstanding the difficulty of the circumstances of the maritime war, and the sufferings of commerce, even for its own interest) we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

"Art. I. All trade, all correspondence, and all communication, with England and its colonies, remain interdicted, according to the tenor of the laws, of our anterior regulations and decrees, even for those, the term of which expired on the 31st of this month.

"II. The exportation of the 52 articles following to friendly or neutral countries is permitted, in Dutch vessels, or under the flag of our allies or neutral powers: *Pottery, vinegar, flags, smalt, bulbous flower-roots, books, French-beans, butter, brandy, tiles, green and white pease, gauze, thread, tape, gin, oats, hoops, time-pieces, wooden work, dried skins, cheese, cambric, articles of copper, leather, piece goods, white lead, glue, madder, furniture,*

vegetable oils, eels, paper, perfumery, clocks, feathers, garden and nursery trees, tobacco-pipes, sugar-of-lead, ground bark, playing cards, peat, bricks, starch, tobacco, ground tarrass, flax, fruit, wine, clover-seed, garden-seeds, hardware, silken goods.

"III. The importation of the 32 articles following is permitted: *Wheat, hog's bristles, brandy, fruits, seeds, hare-skins, hemp, hemp-seed, timber, Russia leather, rape or cole-seed, copper, cork, flax-seed, mats, wood, potash, dried cod or stock-fish, tobacco, suet, tar, fish-oil from the north, isinglass, hemp, wax, cashub-ashes, woollens, wine, iron, lead, candles, leather, and raw skins.*

"IV. Articles intended for exportation cannot be shipped, till information has been given to the director of the customs, with an accurate specification of the articles; and only in the ports of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Middleburg, Groningen, Embden, Harlingen, Veere, Zierckssee, Delfszyl, and Browerhaven.

"V. A vessel, to be admitted into the harbours

bours of this kingdom, must be in ballast, or laden with the productions of the north, specified in Art. III.; except only vessels laden with salt, or those to which we gave permission, in 1806 and 1807, to go to China for a cargo of tea, provided they are the bearers of the copy of the permission above-mentioned, and can produce it.

"VI. No other cargo, except of the articles mentioned in Art. IV.*, can be admitted under any pretence whatever: all prohibited articles, whatever they may be, and whatever their quantity, will be confiscated, as well as the vessel, on board which they are found.

"VII. If information given to the inspector of the customs excite suspicion respecting the origin of the cargoes, they shall be provisionally warehoused, till it is known and decided, that they come neither from England nor from her colonies.

"VIII. Our commercial consuls, who

* Articles III. and V. surely. *Tr.*

deliver certificates of origin for merchandize, shipped at the harbours where they reside for Dutch ports, shall not satisfy themselves with attesting, that the goods or merchandize do not come from England, or from her colonies or trade; they shall mention the place of origin, the documents shown them in proof of the declaration made to them, and the name of the vessel, on board which they were originally conveyed from the place of their origin to that where they are shipped. They will address a duplicate of their certificate to our director of the customs.

"IX. All our officers, functionaries, servants, or agents, who shall be convicted of having favoured infringements of this decree, shall be punished to the utmost rigour of the law.

"X. In order to simplify the course of affairs, and have a more active and speedy vigilance over what relates to this subject, we give the execution of it in charge to the director of our customs, established by the decree of this day, and render him responsible

sible for it. We make him personally responsible, intending that he shall act immediately with us during the continuance of the said decree, and that no other person shall be charged with it.

"XI. The three commandants of the grand circles of the coasts shall continue their superintendence and command; but they shall only lend assistance to the custom-houses in case of need, and the posts of our land and sea forces shall not interfere with the business of the customs, unless required by persons belonging to the latter.

"XII. The agents of the police, who may hitherto have had in charge any thing relating to the blockade, will have nothing farther to do with it from this day, and will confine themselves to their ordinary functions: it being our manifest intention, that the affairs of the blockade shall belong to the custom-house alone; and that the director, and those employed in it, shall be collectively, and personally responsible for the strict execution of our orders.

"XIII.

"XIII. The commandants of the three circles of the coasts shall command, as they do at this moment, the land and sea forces within their circles; but they shall be accountable only to that minister, under whose orders they are: and thus the commandant of the circle of the Texel shall render his accounts to the minister of the navy; those of the Hague, and of Groningen, to the minister at war. The officers and particular detachments of the navy in the circles of the Hague and of Groningen, and those of the land forces in the circle of the Texel, shall make reports on the affairs of the customs to their minister, only when he demands them: but they are by no means dispensed from making reports on the police, or ordinary branches of service, according to the orders and instructions of the minister. They are under the orders of the commandant-general of the circle only with regard to the custom-houses, and the superintendance of the coasts.

"XIV. The three commandants of the grand

grand circles, independently of the daily reports on the customs, which they shall transmit to our minister at war, or of the navy, may forward to us, even by an extraordinary courier, all the reports they may deem of particular importance.

"XV. Our director of the customs is charged with, and responsible for, the strict execution of the present decree, which shall be made known to our ministers of finance, war, the navy, and of justice and police, as well as to the tribunal of prizes."

These pieces, tiresome as they may seem, are notwithstanding too essential to a view of the government of the country to be omitted: they will show the sincerity and resignation of Holland to the will of France at this period, in despite of all she had suffered, and all that has been said on this subject.

At this time a revolution, as sudden as singular, occasioned Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to descend from the throne. The Swedish

Swedish army was engaged in the war against Russia, when the troops, that were in Norway, on a sudden turned about, and marched for the capital, with which no doubt they had intelligence, since the King was refused all means of defence, and prevented from leaving Stockholm. As soon as the revolters arrived in the vicinity of the city, three officers, marshal Klingspors, general Adlercreutz, and colonel Silfersparre, accompanied by the president Tersmeder, went to the King, disarmed him, arrested him, announced to him his deposition, and caused him to be conveyed to the castle of Drottningholm. The Queen, with the Prince Royal and his sisters, remained at Haga. The Duke of Sudermania, uncle to the King, was appointed regent of the realm. On the 15th of March a proclamation announced this change, and convened the states, which had not been assembled for some time. While these things were transacting, the Russians were preparing to make a descent near Stockholm. Twenty-five thousand men, under the command of generals

generals Bagration and Knorring, were in motion against the isle of Aland, when major Afverdson informed them of the change of government, and desired an armistice, which they would not grant. This negotiation, however, gave the Swedes time to retire, though in effecting their retreat a very superior force pursued them close at their heels.

On the 17th of March the Russians were at Golby, on the road to Stockholm; and on the 20th the Regent demanded from the nation an advancement of money.

A convention was concluded between generals Barclay de Tolly and Cronstedt, in consequence of which the Russians evacuated Umea, and retired to Vasa. In fine, on the 29th of March King Gustavus signed the act of abdication at Gripsholm; but he abdicated for himself alone, making no mention of his descendants.

The Emperor Alexander, having learned what had passed at Stockholm, sent Mr. Alopeus, to compliment the Regent. The latter

latter on his part sent Baron Schwerin to Petersburg, with an answer to the congratulations of the Emperor Alexander, and to open a negotiation for peace. The negotiator was unable to conclude an armistice in form, and could scarcely obtain a provisional suspension of hostilities; for Russia required, that the Queen should be Regent during the minority of the Prince, that she should cede Finland, and shut the ports of Sweden to the English.

Affairs of the Holy See.

At Rome the vexations of the Holy See continued. Though the Holy Father had prohibited the Carnival, the military authority resolved it should take place; and preparations were made for it by force; but the people took no part in them. The shops and the windows that overlooked the Corso were shut; no one went to see the horse-race; no one put on a mask; and the orders, that

that had been issued, were forced to be withdrawn.

The Spaniards, that happened to be at Rome, were compelled to take the oath to the new King of Spain, and those who refused were lodged in the Castle. The minister, Mr. de Vargas, who resided near the Holy Father, was conveyed to the citadel of Fenestrella.

A corps of gendarmerie was formed, composed of the subjects of the Holy See, in spite of the protests of the Pope. The French took to themselves the police of the provinces, that were still under the apparent authority of the Holy Father.

Affairs of Spain.

Notwithstanding all the successes, which the French army obtained daily over the Spaniards, the insurrection still went on acquiring more strength. As soon as the insurgents were dispersed, they quickly rallied,

lied, and were reinforced. The Marquis of Romana, who had been defeated at Epinosa, reappeared in Gallicia with an imposing force, and defied the French. In the battle of the 17th of March the Dutch brigade covered itself with glory, It quitted its encampment at Talaveyra de la Reyna, the 15th of March, crossed the Tagus, and the next day arrived at Paraleda de Gardin. On the 17th it fell in with the enemy near Bonnal, and drove them from their position. The enemy having retired among the rocks, the division of general Laval attacked them: the Dutch brigade was in reserve: the Dutch formed in a square, supported the attack of the division under a very brisk fire of musketry and grape, and advanced against the intrenchments with shouldered arms; this bold manœuvre put the enemy to flight, and decided the victory.

On the 29th of March, general Sebastiani defeated the Spaniards near Ciudad Reale, and dispersed them beyond the Sierra Morena. In this battle the Dutch hussars charged the Spanish infantry with extraordinary intrepidity,

pidity, and the greatest success. Among the officers that distinguished themselves most were colonel Roest, captains Coti, Weitzel, and Falken, adjutant-major Hoevenaar, first lieutenants Verhagen and Lesueur, lieutenants van Omphal and Rodekerke, and sergeant Hunnerman. General Sebastiani wrote to the King an account of this affair in the following words.

"I think it my duty, to give your Majesty an account of the brilliant behaviour of your hussars, and in particular of their colonel, the chevalier Roest van Alkemade. Their conduct in the engagements, that took place at Ciudad Reale on the 27th of this month, and at Santa Cruz on the 28th, will immortalize them. The courage they displayed, and the services they rendered on those days, have been appreciated by the whole army, and particularly by myself. But in sending your majesty such agreeable news, I regret having to announce, that colonel Roest van Alkemade was severely wounded, while charging

charging the enemy with extraordinary intrepidity. We have every reason to hope, that he will recover. This I the more desire, that your Majesty may not lose a subject, as valiant as he has shown himself devoted to his King and country.

"I am, &c."

Adjutant-major Hoevenaar and sergeant Hunnerman, seeing their colonel dangerously wounded, flew to his assistance and delivered him from the enemy, by whom he was already surrounded. Colonel Roest van Alkemade, at the head of one squadron of his regiment, charged a body of Spaniards consisting of three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse.

The Dutch regiment received as a recompense the title of Hussar Guards, and was allowed to bear the letter L. as a distinction, instead of the number of the regiment. The old colonel van Goes, and Roest van Alkemade, were made major-generals; adjutant-major Hoevenaar, a lieutenant-colonel, and sergeant

sergeant Hunnerman, a lieutenant. The two last received the decoration of the order of the union. The King promised general Roest van Alkemade the first place of commander, that should become vacant: at the same time the minister of war made known to the different corps of the army, the satisfaction the King felt from the gallant conduct of his troops in Spain, particularly of the hussars. A few months after, Roest was appointed grand marshal of the palace.

While general Sebastiani was beating the Spaniards near Ciudad Reale, marshal Victor, Duke of Belluno, obtained a victory over general Cuesta near Merida.

It was not long before disturbances begun to break out in South America. Two parties declared themselves, the royalists and the independants.

The reserve of the French army in Spain was intrusted to general Hedouville.

Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso, marched into the Asturias against general the Marquis of Romana, who was defeated at Oviedo.

A short

A short time after, the latter was obliged to embark on board a sloop of war, and relinquish the remains of his army to his nephew Caro.

During this time the Legislative body terminated its extraordinary session. It had an audience of the King, who gave the following answer to the speech of the president Devos van Steenwick.

"Gentlemen, your session is about to terminate. The project of a law, which will be laid before you to-morrow, is the last proposal you will receive from us this year. More happy in your functions, the execution of the important objects, that have been decreed and concluded, concerns you no longer. Yet, gentlemen, your task is not finished. At all times, even in the most ordinary and tranquil periods, the subject of your decrees will require suffrages and support, as well as explanations and elucidations from the members of your assembly, who are acquainted with their purpose and spirit,

and

and in what manner they bear on the general situation of the state. This being the case, how urgent must be the support of your talents and suffrages in these times of war, apprehension, and distrust! Yes, gentlemen, the task you have remaining is more easy, though equally honourable and useful. It is your part, on returning to your provinces, to obtain the general approbation of all that has been done this year.

"Confidence the most absolute is capable at once of diminishing the cares, the pains, and above all the difficulties of public affairs in these times of war; and also of affording us alone the support and indemnification, that we ardently desire, and that are indispensable to us.

"During the course of your session, the period of a general peace has appeared to be still further procrastinated; and misfortunes dreaded, but not expected, might have endangered the existence of a great part of the kingdom, and deranged the finances of the state, if it were possible to deviate from the

only system that can re-establish them. Happily the nation has shown itself such, as we might have expected to find it. It is still, it is ever, Dutch; essentially good, just, and reasonable. It has taken upon itself alone to repair the losses of the victims of these disasters. We have seen, not unmoved, and at the same time with pride, the great city set the example, and itself alone offer assistance twice as great as the whole of the patriotic gifts, bestowed ten years ago in circumstances nearly similar.

"The second city in the kingdom has not contented itself with a considerable gift: less remote from the places that have suffered, it has availed itself of this to double its gifts, in a manner as liberal as prompt and immediate.

"Two other cities, that have greatly suffered in recent times from a misfortune of circumstances of a peculiar kind, have followed this noble example, notwithstanding their situation, and the fetters that hamper this country on all sides by the interdiction of the continental trade, which still continues.

"There

"There remain however many things for us to do. It is necessary, that all our laws, all our institutions, should be homogeneal with each other, and with the constitution of the state, commencing even with the regulations of the corporations (*communes*). It is necessary that the term of low countries should be for ever lost: that the cares and superintendance of the government should extend to the poorest peasant as well as to the wealthiest citizen: that the government should relinquish to no one this sacred obligation of all the foremost: that the patriotism, so conspicuous, which shows itself indestructible, and which nothing can ever destroy, should become less narrow. Yes, gentlemen, preserve the glorious remembrance of all your ancestors have done for the honour of Holland; even the remembrance of the history of the different provinces should be transmitted from age to age; but let no one forget, that he is in the first place a native of Holland. This name is no longer that of a province, or a par-

ticular department, it is nothing but the ancient name of the seven United Provinces; it signifies nothing else: how then can it excite jealousy? Were the flag of the United Provinces, their fleets, their army, ever known under any other denomination, than that of the flag, the army, or the fleets of Holland? yet this name was formerly that of a single province, which it is now no longer. The kingdom will advance rapidly to a state of great improvement, till every one is intimately impressed with this sentiment; till there is not a single native of Amsterdam, of Zealand, of Brabant, of Guelderland, of Friesland, who does not call himself, and is not in reality a good Hollander.

"You have provided for the first charges of commencing the great works of the watterstadt; for I have no doubt, that the nation will second the efforts and example, that you and all the public functionaries have given it: but we must not conceal, that the indispensable necessity of labouring every year with the greatest possible means at the progressive

gressive execution of this grand scheme, in order to improve in a few years the situation of the land; as well as the impossibility of ever deviating from the plan to be pursued for the reestablishment of the finances; will render the diminution of our burdens for some time impracticable, and, on the contrary, their preservation and efficiency daily more necessary. Even this year the watterstadt will receive eminent meliorations: but it is not merely with regard to protection against the waters, that the territory has need of great improvement: it is necessary in the first place to open a communication from the Yssel to the Dollart, by the canal from Assen to Groningen, and from the Dollart to the Jahde, by the canal of East Friesland; and to form a communication with the grand duchy of Berg by means of canals, which will be of equal utility to both countries.

"With regard to navigation alone the rivers demand great, long-continued, progressive, and constant improvement. A pretty considerable

siderable number of inland canals, and the improvement of small rivers, are equally necessary and urgent. There is nothing conducive to the advantage of commerce, agriculture, the arts, and industry, that is not alike pressing; since the prosperity of the inhabitants of the country is indispensable to its general existence, and its only stay.

"The provinces of Utrecht, Brabant, Guelderland, Over-Yssel, and Drenthe, in particular, will have treasures to discover in the extent of uncultivated land they possess; when the canals and roads are multiplied, and in sufficient number, to attract attention and population to them. The division of common lands, rendered more easy by the law of this year, commences this improvement. Over-Yssel and Drenthe will yield great benefits to the rest of the kingdom. The stone necessary for maritime works may be found in the country; and the peat necessary for consumption may be sought in these departments, since, notwithstanding the interests of individuals, and the loss to them, the

the law, that prohibits the working of the low peat mosses in Zealand, must ultimately be rendered general throughout the realm.

"The maritime works also demand additions and improvements. The works on the Y, before Amsterdam, are to commence this year.

"There are still two essential objects: one, the constitutional law respecting the nobility, a subject so connected with the constitution, and with the present state of affairs, that it would have been among the first things proposed after our accession, if we had not been prevented by the numerous and urgent concerns, that succeeded each other so rapidly. The other regards the *schuttery*, or burgess guard. A new law on this subject would seem at the first view less necessary, as the obligation on a man of protecting his house, in the place where he is a domiciliar, has already existed: but the events that have occurred within these thirteen years have caused this principle to be neglected; and though all the successive laws have maintained

tained this obligation, the formation of the burgess guard in a permanent manner, and agreeably to the ancient habits of the nation, has never been able to be accomplished during that period. This is the object of the project of the law proposed to you. We had fixed the time of the formation of the schuttery to that of the general peace; as well as the definitive plan of the finances, and every thing that has for its object a fixed and permanent arrangement: but, as this period is still indefinitely deferred, we ought not longer to delay the regulation of all these matters. What concerns the finances has been determined some months. You have also decreed, during your two sessions this year, the general laws relating to the chief of these objects; but that of the schuttery still remains for you to conclude. You know its purpose; you are as well convinced, as we are, of the necessity of regulating this business without any delay, in a definitive and durable manner. Perhaps it would be more convenient to dispense with a burgess guard altogether, if we had

had the means of keeping on foot an army sufficiently strong, always to have an adequate force in every considerable town in the realm; chiefly, in fortified towns, the troops necessary to garrison them, and, in others, those requisite to enforce the execution of the laws. But, even were we arrived at the desirable period of the re-establishment of the finances, and consequently of establishing the budget and war expenses in a manner suitable to the rank and dignity of the nation, the obligation on a man of being called to defend his dwelling could not be neglected; it could not be dispensed with by a people, who, for its welfare and the maintenance of its system and its interests, ought to unite all its efforts, and all its military faculties, with those of France, whose alliance is so intimately connected with its tranquillity and independence.

"Contribute, we urgently desire you, to inspire confidence and hope: the point in which all our desires, our efforts, our thoughts, and our wishes at every instant, centre, is to reach the day, when the nation, free, happy, and

and prosperous, shall be convinced by facts, that monarchical Holland may become the perfection, the consolidation, of the ancient state of the United Provinces."

The Dutch are greatly prejudiced against a minister of police, and will never approve one, because they are acquainted with no police but that of justice, and no judicial power but that belonging to the regular judges. This does great honour to the natural equity and judgment of this people, one of the best in the world, if not the best without exception. It is impossible however, that a well-governed state should remain without a police. That of a just and paternal government has nothing in common with the police of an absolute power: it is indispensable, not only for the greatest moral purpose of laws, that of preventing evils and crimes, but also to enlighten government in its course. The government is a pilot: and how can a pilot guide the helm, who is unacquainted with the course he has to steer? But

But the difficulty of having a good minister of police in Holland was almost insurmountable, as the King found by experience: for one of the defects of the Dutch character, resulting from federal habits, is that of never obeying instructions literally; of executing its functions conscientiously indeed, but loosely, according to the notions and disposition of the individual, and not by scrupulously following the will of the superior. In this way a minister of police does the government more harm than good: for either he does not perform the duties of the police, or he performs them in his own way: and this was what took place in Holland. From deference to the spirit and opinions of the nation, the King tried some time whether he could not do without one: but he soon perceived the dangers and false steps he was led into, from the blindness in which he remained, while foreign ministers had an active and general inspection. Hence he was induced to take a middle course, by placing at the head of justice and the police van Maanen,

Maanen, attorney-general at the Hague (*procureur royal auprès de la cour de la Haye*): but this did not succeed. The minister van Maanen was dismissed with a pension of 8,000 florins, till he should have another place suited to his talents. In fine, he placed, as will soon be seen, a catholic, Hugenpoth, at the head of justice and the police, thinking he had chosen a man devoted to his government, and to Holland: but this latter choice was fatal to both, and it was the last.

Monarchy is the worst of all governments, when its subordinates do not cooperate to the same end, and are not guided by the same spirit: for we then have the disadvantages of a government too contracted, joined with that of anarchy and of contradictions.

On the 10th of April the King set out from Amsterdam, to visit Brabant and Zealand. On the 13th he arrived at Grave, inspected the town, and the village of Velp, and did justice to the demands and complaints of Ravenstein. On the 14th of April he passed through Beers, Cuyk, and St. Agatha; and

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on the three following days all that portion of the department of Brabant, which lies between the marshes of Peeland, Helmont, Eindoven, and Tilburg. He informed himself of the state in which these countries were, and of the improvements of which they were susceptible. He obliged the administration of the domains to keep the roads in order, and repair the churches; which it had not done, though it was its duty. He assigned funds for building churches for those of the protestant religion. He settled a plan of the works necessary for improving the rivers of Brabant; visited the villages of St. Antony, Geemert, Beck, Aerle, Stiphond, the town of Helmond, Meerloo, Geldrop, Stratum; the town of Eindhoven, Woensel, Oorschot, Beers, and Mœyestel. At Geemert he visited several weaving manufactories and the churches.

He found the village of Aerle labouring under a contagious disorder, with which 140 houses out of 180 were attacked. The King entered these houses of desolation and death,

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to learn the condition and wants of the sufferers. It was a heart-rending sight . . . horrible filth, and an insupportable stench, infested these humble dwellings, lately so neat and comfortable. You saw the wife and daughters pale, emaciated, and repulsive from sickness, inspiring dread; every thing about whom but a few days before breathed neatness and cheerfulness . . . the husband in the chimney corner, plunged in grief and dejection, emitted at once the groans of despair and the rattling of the throat that announces death. All the furniture was littered about, and impregnated with contagion. With difficulty could the sick be made to listen to the voice of consolation: every where the gloom of despair prevailed, and even hope had fled. Conceive amid so many ills the clergyman of the parish, * * *, cheerful, active, with a head as cool as his heart was warm, visiting every house, incessantly braving infection and death, assisting all the sick in turn night and day, scrupling to spare from his afflicted parishioners more time, than

was

was absolutely necessary for him to take some nourishment, and inducing himself to do this by these memorable words: "*I must support myself to assist them;*" and you will have an idea of the situation of this country. The King visited some of these wretched inhabitants. He sent in haste for all the necessary medicines; he gave money immediately for all the wants of the country, and he sent for Dr. Dommerie of Boxmeer, a physician of great talents. He gave him *carte blanche*, as well as the clergyman and magistrates, with the following instructions: "Do your endeavours, to extinguish this cruel disorder; for this purpose dispose of every thing in my power without reserve, require what it will: the sooner you remove this scourge, the less will be the expense." These gentlemen executed their commission in a very laudable manner. In a few weeks the contagion ceased; but the clergyman at length fell a victim to his zeal. It is impossible to bestow a better eulogium on this minister, than by relating the answer he made the King. The latter

latter said to him: "I hope you will surmount the danger of all your good actions for the happiness of these honest villagers; but I am afraid, that, by thus constantly exposing yourself, you will at length perish also."—"And what does that signify," answered he, "if I do my duty, and it be the will of Heaven?" This man made a great impression on the protestant spectators. The King was proud to see the spirit and character of the catholic clergy thus presented to their eyes; and when the most backward protestants in his suite asked their neighbours with astonishment, who this ecclesiastic was, the King answered them with joy: "Gentlemen, he is a true catholic priest."

At Helmont, he made the administration of the domains of Geemer pay the money advanced by the consistory for the repairing of churches; and gave this town funds for building a protestant church, which it wanted. He visited several manufactories, among which were that of linen of Boguert, one of printed calicoes, one for printing cotton, &c.

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He visited the fine church of Oorchot, and testified his satisfaction on the plantations, which he found in a better state here than in other places. Every where the inhabitants came out to meet him, gave him an account of their situation, and spoke to him of their little grievances and the meliorations necessary, with Dutch simplicity and frankness, convinced that the King would remedy them. On the 18th of April, he arrived at Bois-le-Duc, passing through Enschot, Oosterwyk, Haaren, and Helvoet, and alighted at the landrost's. Immediately on his arrival he gave an audience to the magistrates, and the ministers of the different religious communities. On the 20th, he visited all the churches of the town, and the grand arsenal; and rode to inspect the fortifications, and forts Isabella, Orthem, and Crevecœur. The next day he saw the seminary of St. Michael Gestel, and the most celebrated manufactories. On the 22d of April, he proceeded to Vugt, Boxtel, Liempde, St. Oedenrode, Vegehel, Niestelrode, Schaick, Herpen, Langel, Neerlon, and Ravenstein.

Ravenstein. This last quarter was inferior to the rest of the kingdom; the lords had too much influence in its management; and by this the King was the more convinced of the necessity of depriving them of the government of the villages. The prison of Ravenstein was a dark and unwholesome subterraneous dungeon; and he suppressed it.

The next day he viewed the villages of Demen and Dieden. At Mayen, he visited and removed the apprehensions of a convent of nuns. He arrived at Heusden and Gertruidenberg by the way of Marcharen, Oye, Lithoyen, Lith, Kessel, Maren, Alem, the fort of Blaauwe Sluis, Empel, Engelen, Hedikhuizen, Herpt, and Biern. He visited the *overlaat* between Brunen and Braardwyk; and ordered the Stortebed to be levelled and reduced to the precise height of the peil of Bois-le-Duc. He afterwards visited the fine villages of Baardwyk, Waalwyk, Besoyen, and Spraag, by which the grand overlaat, projected by the central committee of the watterstadt, was to pass. He felt the greatest

pleasure

pleasure in passing through the beautiful villages of the Langstraat, and afterwards viewed the dike of Capelle, which had suffered prodigiously. He went to see the salmon fishery in the Biesboch, and granted the fishermen an armed boat, to guard and protect their fisheries. He also granted them a lease of the fishery for six years at a diminished rent. On the 25th of April, he went to Osterhaut, visited the canal, and then proceeded to Breda. In this town, he visited the castle, where the prisoners of war were confined. He set at liberty all the American sailors, who were among the prisoners, and placed them at the disposal of their consul. He visited several manufactories, all the churches, the town-hall, and the house of correction. He inspected the seminary of Ginnette; and visited the two woods of Mastbos and Liesbos belonging to the crown. He was well pleased with the state of the villages of Ginneke, Haadje, Leur, Elten, Oudenbosch, Zand, and Daarbuiesten, where he crossed the Dintel and Klundert. He

visited the sluice of Noordfort on the Hollandsche Diep. He then proceeded to Willemstadt, where he embarked for the island of Over Flakee, which he visited, as well as that of Godereede. He inspected all the dikes of the island, and the batteries on the coast. He visited the villages of Oogensplate, Onde-Tonge, Neiuwe-Tonge, Kirkinge, Goeree or Dorp, Stellendam, Melissant, Dirkxland; Sommelsdyk, Middleharnis, Bommelstadt. He spent the night at Goeree. He granted subsidies to repair the church of Sommelsdyk, burnt in 1801; another for the church of Kerkinge; and a third for the hospital of Dirkxland. The catholics received the gift of two small churches at Sommelsdyk and Goeree, with a stipend for the pastor and the vicar. At Sommelsdyk, the new *polder* (drained marsh) attracted his attention, as well as the sluice of the new harbour at the southern point of the island of Goeree. He ordered an engineer of the watterstadt to have the management of the hydraulic works on this island. The minister at war

received

received orders, to improve the harbour of Goeree; and to cause an entrenched and close fort to be constructed at Oogtenplatz, capable of preventing ships of war from approaching Willemstadt and Biesboch. On the 29th of April, he landed at Willemstadt; and the next day arrived at Bergen-op-zoom, after having visited the fortified towns of Steenberg and Dintland, and the fine sluices of the Dintel.

As the state of the treasury did not allow the necessary improvements in the management to be attempted, the King took a middle course; which was, after having finished his visit of the department, to settle with the landrost and his coadjutors at Bergen-op-Zoom a plan of the improvements to be made, as if they had all the necessary funds. This done, he decreed, that these improvements should be proceeded on annually, without fail: that as much should be done as the state of the treasury would permit, but without missing a single year, though by little and little at a time, on account of the poverty of the finances;

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finances; thus expecting the good effect of his cares only from incessant working, however small this might be. He took the same steps with the other departments. He made the city of Bergen-op-Zoom a present of what it owed to the state, granted it an institution of royal pupils, and settled the disputes that had arisen between the fishermen of Brabant and those of Zealand. The right of fishing ought to be a common employment and profit to all who dwell in the vicinity of a river, without any preference or privilege. At Bois-le-Duc, he resisted the pressing solicitations of the catholics, to cause the high church, or cathedral, to be given up to them immediately, though they had all possible right to it, since there are nine or ten thousand of this persuasion out of a population of twelve thousand. But he promised them to do it shortly; and even made the matter depend on the results of the labours of two committees, one protestant, the other catholic; because the latter demanded justice with too much warmth, and he had made it a rule,

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rule, never to be warm himself, nor to suffer others to grow warm, on religious matters. It was for this reason, that he made a point of showing himself a catholic among the protestants, and a protestant among the catholics: this was the result of his conduct in this respect, which every body did not understand, and for which perhaps he incurred the imputation of weakness. But the slightest actions of the head of a government have so much influence on the people at large, and ring so loudly even to the remotest parts of the community, that it is difficult to conceive, how a government can dare to act without extreme circumspection.

After two years' preparation, Austria took the field on the 8th of April. The French minister had left Vienna on the 28th of February; and on the 5th of April the Russian minister departed also. On the 9th the Archduke Charles sent a letter to Munich, to the commander in chief of the French army, in the following terms: "Agreeably to a declaration

claration made by the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I have to inform the commander in chief of the French army, that I have orders, to advance with the troops under my command, and to treat as enemies all who resist me."

The Austrians immediately entered Bavaria, and marched for Munich. The King of Bavaria quitted his capital, and repaired to Dillingen.

It appeared, that both parties, after reciprocal pretexts and complaints, had recourse to arms without regret. For Austria, seeing the Emperor Napoleon employed on the war with Spain, thought it a favourable opportunity to attack him, and indemnify herself for the losses she had sustained by the treaty of Presburg. France, on her part, sought an occasion of seizing the ports of Trieste and Fiume, which intercepted her communications with Dalmatia; and at the same time envied Austria her share of Poland, which she was desirous of uniting to the grand

duchy

duchy of Warsaw, to effect at length her scheme of reestablishing the kingdom of Poland.

The following was the situation of the French armies at the commencement of the campaign. The corps of marshal Davoust was at Ratisbon; that of marshal Massena at Ulm; that of general Oudinot at Ratisbon; the head-quarters of the grand army at Strasburg; the three Bavarian divisions, under the orders of the Duke of Dantzic, were at Munich, Landshut, and Straubing; the Wurtemberg division at Heydenheim; the Saxons were encamped under the walls of Dresden; and the corps of the duchy of Warsaw, commanded by Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, was at Warsaw.

On the 10th of April, the Austrians invested Passau and Kufstein. The French troops and their allies fell back at all points. The Austrians took possession of Munich.

The Emperor Napoleon was informed of the commencement of hostilities by the Paris telegraph

telegraph on the 13th of April; on the 16th he was at Dillingen, with the King of Bavaria; and on the 17th he moved his head-quarters to Ingoldstadt. The Tyrolese rose in arms. An Austrian army marched into Italy under the command of the Archduke John, who forced the viceroy to fall back to the Piava. At the same time the Archduke Ferdinand advanced against Warsaw. On the 20th of April, a battle was fought between the corps of Prince Poniatowsky and that of the Archduke Ferdinand at Baszy. The Poles were beaten, and forced to sign a convention, by which they evacuated Warsaw; which place the Archduke entered on the 24th.

On the 20th of April the Emperor Napoleon gained a battle against the Archduke Louis and general Hiller at Avensberg. The next day he obtained another victory at Landshut, while the Archduke Charles on his part made himself master of Ratisbon. But the Emperor Napoleon turned towards

him,

him, gained the battle of Eckmuhl, beat the Austrians again at Ratisbon the next day, and made himself master of this city.

The King of Bavaria re-entered Munich on the 25th.

The Prussian major Schill, in garrison at Berlin, attempted to stir up Westphalia, where were many partisans of the houses of Brunswick and Cassel. Under pretence of exercising his regiment, he marched from Berlin to Wolfenbuttle, and took the field. The King of Prussia issued severe orders against him.

In Italy, the Archduke John established his head-quarters at Treviso on the 28th of April, and on the 30th defeated the royal Italian guard.

While these things were passing on the continent, England modified her orders of council. An order from the cabinet restricted the blockade to the kingdom of Holland, the French empire, their settlements, possessions, and colonies, and the north

north of Italy, from Pesaro and Orbitello inclusively.

The King of Holland continued his visit of the kingdom. From Brabant he proceeded to Zealand; and on the 4th of May was at Tholen. The neighbouring village of Niew-Vosmeer was united to the department of Brabant, because it is separated from Zealand by the river Endragt. Tholen was inundated several times every year by high tides: he decreed the construction of a dike round the harbour, and the heightening of the quays, in order to render the town perfectly secure. The churches received assistance. In 1808 he had ordered all the dikes of Zealand to be raised, and now inspected what was done. He proceeded afterwards to Cred-Vosmeer, Poolvliet, Scherpenisse, Gorishoek, St. Martensdyk, St. Anneland, and Stavenisses, where he embarked for Zieriksee. The next day, the 5th of May, he visited the grand dikes of the island of Schowen, and in particular the harbour, and the works of the flaauwe-sluis

and

and Burg; the two ruptures that had taken place suddenly in the month of April; and the villages of Burgt, Hamstede, Renesse, Noordwyk, and Serooskerke. In the night of the 10th of May he arrived at Middelburg.

On the 12th of May he visited the island of Walcheren, accompanied by the landrost, and a guard of honour under the command of Mr. Boddaert, fort Rammekens, the villages of Rithem, East-Souburg, West-Souburg, Koudekerke, Bekerke, Meliskerke, Zoutelland, and the little town of West-Kapellen, where he inspected the principal dike of the kingdom, and learned the manner in which they protect wooden work from the ravages of worms. He visited the hydraulic works on the sea-shore, and returned in the evening to Middelburg. On the 13th of May he viewed the town of Veere, fort Kaak, the road, and the two divisions of the flotilla stationed there. Thence he proceeded to Domburg, to Vrowe Polder, to the little town of East-Kapellen, and the villages of Angtekerke,

Angtekerke, Serooskerke, and Brigdamm. The 14th and 15th of May he spent at Middelburg, on the affairs of the department of Zealand; finished the chief of them; and visited the public establishments, that he had not already seen, particularly those of colonies and trade. The merchants of the city requested the King to give a name to a fine commercial edifice that was building, and he gave it that of Boerhaave.

He arranged matters with respect to the finances of Middelburg; and procured this town the means of paying its interest with punctuality from the year 1810. He also concluded the affair of the proprietors of the *Ambt obligatien*; he ordered, that the new harbour of Middelburg should extend to Veere, so that the largest East-Indiamen might come up to both these towns; in order that by these means they might recover their ancient prosperity at the general peace. Funds were found to restore the ramparts of Middelburg: the expenses of the new labour were to be furnished in great

great part by means of a loan, the interest of which was charged on the budget of Middelburg, which he settled. Two hundred thousand florins were given immediately, to commence this important work, from the amount of the sale of the *schorren* (the *schorren* are lands gained from the water by its retiring) of the new *polder* in the island of South Beveland, which had been named after the King *Lodewyks-Polders*. From the same source a considerable sum was given to the town of Tergoes, in order that the new harbour of this town might be finished in the course of the year. Agriculture flourishes in the island of Walcheren and South Beveland. The bailiff of Volpphaarsdyk was removed: it was through his fault, that the *polder* of Abbinge was almost entirely lost. The King remarked with pain and surprise, that many of the country-women, instead of bringing up their infants on their first and natural food, gave them cow's milk and pap; and enjoined the ministers of religion, to use all their efforts to remove this abuse. He interrogated

rogated many of the Zealand women respecting this custom; and perceived with astonishment, that it was become a system among a people, whose women are almost without exception excellent mothers and faithful wives. The magistrates avowed the inutility of their endeavours to alter this practice. The women of Zealand are accustomed to wear a sort of half-veil of very fine linen, which falls over the back part of the head and the temples, but does not descend lower upon the face than the forehead, where it is fixed by a slip of gold, which the married women wear on one side of the forehead, and the unmarried on the other. Without infringing on this custom, the King ordered, that those women who suckled their infants should alone be permitted to wear a complete circle of gold on the forehead; and that three rich ornaments of this kind should be distributed annually to the three mothers, who should have suckled the greatest number of infants.

During his stay at Middelburg, he spent two hours at Flushing. He visited the town-hall,

hall, and the rope-walk where de Ruiter worked. He afterwards went to Tergoes, having first visited Arnemuiden, the Sloe, l'Heerarandskerk, Wissekerke, and s'Heerkendrikskinderen.

The next day he stopped at the villages of Kloetinge, Kapelle, Biezelinge, Schovel, and Kruiningen, where he visited the new dike, for which the country was indebted to the engineer Schraver, and by means of which the *polder*, which had been submerged the preceding year, was recovered from the waters. He proceeded to Waarden, Krabbendyke, and the fort of Bath. At Waarden, he found the admiral and captains of the French fleet, went on board the Charlemagne, and saw the whole fleet manœuvred together with precision. On his arrival at Bath he went on board his yacht, and on the 20th of May returned to Amsterdam by way of Bergen-op-Zoom.

At this period there was a change in the ministry. The minister Gogel was dismissed, because he would not quit his commercial

house, and his place was filled provisionally by Appelius. General Jansens, also, minister at war, having permission to travel in the south of Europe, had his place provisionally occupied by Cambier. The posts, of which Appelius provisionally discharged the duties, caused his place of secretary counsellor to be filled by Verheyen, with the title of *first secretary* of the cabinet. A minister of justice and police also was wanting, which office had been discharged provisionally by Appelius. The ministry was now composed in the following manner.

Roell, minister of foreign affairs.

Van-der-Hem, minister of the navy.

Van-der-Capellen, minister of the interior.

Krayenhoff, minister at war.

Appelius, minister of the finances.

Twent, minister of the watterstadt.

Hugenpoth, minister of justice and police.

Mollerus, president of the college of heraldry.

Demist, first president of the council of accounts.

Verheyen,

Verheyen, first secretary of the cabinet.

Huygens, master of requests, &c.

The states of Sweden assembled on the 9th of May. Hostilities had commenced between the Russians and Swedes. The latter were forced to evacuate Umea, and East Bothnia.

The day after their opening, the 10th of May, the states of Sweden signed an act, by which they absolved themselves from the oath of obedience and fidelity, which they had taken to Gustavus Adolphus IV.

On the 1st of May the Emperor Napoleon's head-quarters set off from Brannau to Ried; on the 8th he was at St. Polten, and on the 10th the French army was before the walls of Vienna. The Archduke Maximilian attempted to defend that capital; but it was briskly bombarded by the French, who in this manner compelled it to surrender. On the 13th of May the French entered the city, of which general Andreossi, a few days before ambassador, was appointed governor.

During this time the Dutch were in the north of Germany, pursuing Schill, and the

Duke of Brunswick-Oels, who had formed an army in Bohemia, whence he had fallen upon Saxony and Westphalia.

The engagement, called the battle of Asperen by the Austrians, and of Essling by the French, was fought on the 21st and 22d of May. Like that of Eylau, it taught the French, that they should be less presumptuous; and that, if they were negligent, victory might cease to be faithful to them.

On the 24th of May Russia took the field against Austria.

Schill bent his course towards Olmutz. On quitting Berlin, he proceeded for Saxony; but as his attempts on Wittemberg and other towns were unsuccessful, he marched northward, made himself completely master of Mecklenburg, seized Wismar and Rostock, and placed a garrison in Dommitz. The Dutch army quitted Leneburg the 23d of May, and crossed the Elbe at Solzpicker. The fort of Dommitz was carried by the 8th regiment. When this column arrived on the banks of the Elbe, captain Scharf and the grenadiers

grenadiers of the second battalion went in quest of boats to the opposite bank, in spite of the fire of the enemy, and brought them away. The grenadiers and light infantry pushed into the town of Dommitz, notwithstanding the brisk fire kept up from the fort, which they soon carried. They took three colours, and 25 pieces of artillery. The loss of the Dutch was inconsiderable. Lieutenant Sloet, first lieutenants Wimmer and Keor, sergeant Kamps, and quarter-master van Doesbourg, particularly distinguished themselves. Schill marched for Strahlsund. The Dutch general requested the Danish general Ewald to support his left with a column of 1500 men, which he did.

At Rostock, Schill seized some cannon and muskets: and in this port and that of Wismar embarked his baggage, his sick, and his wounded, on board thirty-two vessels. On the 25th of May he entered Strahlsund by surprise. The French and Mecklenburgers, who were found there, were made prisoners, and the greatest cruelties were committed during

during the few moments he remained master of the place.

After having cleared Mecklenburg of the enemy, the Dutch crossed the Regnitz at Damgartem, and on the 31st of May, at ten in the morning, were already under the ramparts of Strahlsund with the Danish troops commanded by general Ewald. Though the fortifications of this place were razed, it was still formidable. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, full of water; and the vicinity was covered with lakes and marshes. Schill had availed himself of this situation with incredible activity. He had cut through all the roads, that led to the gates, in front of which he erected draw-bridges. At each gate he had thrown up works mounted with heavy cannon. Heavy artillery was posted not only on the sites of the ancient bastions, but also on those of the curtains; and he had palisadoed the revetements. Five or six thousand men defended Strahlsund. They consisted of a thousand horse, six hundred of whom were of Schill's own regiment; all the

old

old Swedish deserters, who served his artillery; two strong companies of light infantry, that he had taken from Berlin; gamekeepers, poachers, &c. whom the bailiffs of the countries through which he passed had been obliged to give up to him; 1500 of the *landwehr* of Pomerania; Prussian and Austrian deserters; a rabble that he had enlisted, and a portion of the Mecklenburg troops, who, having been made prisoners by Schill, had afterwards turned their arms against the French. The Dutch general resolved to attack Strahlsund on the side of the Knieperthor. To conceal his design, he made a false attack on the gate of Triepzee, while he caused the Knieperthor to be assaulted by the 6th regiment under the command of colonel Behr, and the 9th under colonel Vezier. The latter regiment was the first to enter the town, notwithstanding a very obstinate resistance. It was speedily followed by the 6th and the Danish troops. The battle was renewed in the town, where every street and house was defended to the utmost. The Dutch however

ever penetrated into the town, and maintained themselves there. The cavalry, under the command of the Dutch colonel Trip, overthrew that of Schill. While they were fighting within the town, the artillery on the ramparts was engaged against that of the Dutch, which was still before the place. The head of the 9th regiment pursued Schill's as far as the gate of Triepzee, where a fresh engagement took place, and the latter were beaten anew. The Dutch made themselves masters of that part of the ramparts, which abutted on the Knieperthor, and their victory was complete. Of the whole garrison of Strahlsund only 200 men escaped: 800 were made prisoners, and the rest, among whom was Schill, were killed. The following are the names of the Dutchmen, who distinguished themselves most on this occasion. General Anthing; his aide-de-camp Schroder; colonel Behr; colonel Vezier, who first entered the city, after having turned a hornwork mounted with eighteen cannon; colonel Stedman; the cavalry under the orders of colonel

colonel Trip; lieutenant Mascheck; the artillery which with its six-pounders, engaged for two hours against twenty-four-pounders, and silenced the batteries of the town of the right, under the command of colonel Bode, aid-de-camp to the King; lieutenant-colonel Verhorst; Berg and Steurs, aides-de-camp of general Carteret; and the captain of engineers Ninabeer. One colour and six pieces of artillery, belonging to the Duke of Mecklenburg, were taken in the island of Rugen.

In this expedition Holland had to regret the loss of lieutenant-general Carteret, the lieutenant-colonels of the 9th regiment, Batenbourg and Dolleman, captains Bourgeois and Meylinck, lieutenant Meyers of the 6th regiment, and a great number of noncommissioned officers and soldiers.

First lieutenant de Hamer, and lieutenants Heuvel and Dequai, of the 6th regiment, were wounded; as were captain During, lieutenants Lambrecht Blomberg, van der Dussen and Hoffman, of the same regiment, captain Cock van

van Oyen of the 2nd regiment of cuirassiers, and 153 non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

On the 7th of May, the Emperor at length united to the empire the states, that still remained to the church. Rome was declared a free and imperial city.

The expedition against Schill being concluded, part of the Dutch army left Strahlsund, to join the army of King Jerome, and engage the Duke of Brunswick and the insurgents. The Dutch formed the advanced guard of the Westphalian army, and pursued the enemy without relaxation.

The conduct of Holland towards France has been seen, and what sacrifices it made, to acquiesce in her demands, and to adopt the several measures against commerce: but all did not give satisfaction, and charges were made against the Dutch. On the 18th of June, an article to the following purport was inserted in the Journal of the Empire.

"All the bad news, the reports most unfavourable to France, originate in Holland. There

There malevolence and calumny appear to have taken up their abode: there tales the most false and absurd, invented by rage and hatred against France, find most propagators. Good God! is it for Holland then so lightly to credit news unfavourable to the bravery and power of the French army? Hear the correspondents of a part of these trumpets of the English ministry, who have their echoes in Holland.

" 'The Duke of Dalmatia has capitulated with 24,000 men, who have arrived at London prisoners of war. The King of Spain has quitted Madrid. Barcelona has been retaken by the insurgents. The Austrians have defeated and taken prisoner the Duke of Elchingen.

"'In another quarter the robber Schill has carried off the King of Westphalia. The late Elector of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, with 20,000 men have overrun Germany. The Tyrolese are already at Munich. The French army is surrounded and lost; and the Emperor Napoleon, so ignorant of the art of war,

war, at the head of such a dastardly and pusillanimous army, has already laid down his arms.'

"Notable discoveries these! The Dutch might be satisfied with gaining immense sums by smuggling, without endeavouring in addition to poison the minds of people on the continent by all the calumnious falsehoods, with which the English cabinet prompts them.

"The Duke of Elchingen has made himself master of the Asturias, Oviedo, and Gijon: he has formed a junction with the Duke of Dalmatia on the Minho; and the army in Spain must be very unskilful, if, when joined with the Duke of Belluno at Alcantara, it does not avail itself of its success, to fall on the rear of Lord Wellesley, who has imprudently advanced to a distance from Oporto.

"Barcelona is victualled. Affairs go on well in Catalonia, and will go on still better from the impulse about to be given them by the Duke of Castiglione, who is proceeding to that former theatre of his glory, and will begin by

by taking Girrona. Arragon is the most submissive of all the Spanish provinces. As to the grand French army, the viceroy is in the heart of Hungary. The Duke of Dantzic occupies posts in Bohemia, far in advance of Lintz, which is covered by impregnable works. General Bertrand displays all the skill and activity imaginable, to conquer the Danube, the most formidable of our opponents. In a few days three bridges will be thrown over that river; the first of boats, the second of rafts, the third on piles. To construct a bridge on piles over such a river as the Danube would have required fifteen months: general Bertrand will have done it in as many days. Trajan threw a bridge over the Danube, but it was not passable by any carriage. Cæsar is said to have thrown a bridge over the Rhine in ten days; but over this likewise no carriage could pass. And what a difference between the Rhine and the Danube! This bridge on piles, which we are constructing over the Danube, will have been made in a fortnight, and

and the heaviest cannon may pass over it with safety.

"We are sorry for the Dutch novelists, and for the speculators for a downfall in that nation, that every thing does not go on according to their wishes. We are sorry, that major Schill, who ought to have perished on a scaffold, died the death of the brave at Strahlsund on the 31st of May.

"As to the Duke of Brunswick, all his forces amount to twelve hundred men; those of the late Elector of Cassel to five hundred; and they have already been beaten and kept in check by the brave colonel Thielman."

The Journal of Leyden answered these inconceivable charges. It complained of their injustice, and this gratuitous insult to Holland, "That, no doubt, these calumnies concealed secret designs against the country; but that it was unfortunate for the dull writers of these stupid articles, that the Dutch had beforehand given them the lie in a formal and striking manner, in the face of all Europe, by their pacific

pacific posture in the midst of insurgent countries, in spite of their sufferings from the blockade; and particularly by the conduct of their army, which had just taken Strahlsund, destroyed Schill, kept Westphalia in check, &c."

The Prince Regent of Sweden, seeing no proposal of a reconciliation with Russia, called the landholder again into a state of activity.

The Emperor Napoleon wrote to the Prince Regent in the most flattering terms, and expressed the most favourable disposition towards him.

On the 6th of June, the states of Sweden proclaimed the Prince Regent King of that nation. He took the name of Charles XIII., was proclaimed the same day, and on the 20th was crowned at Stockholm. A new constitution for the country was drawn up. Prince Christiern, governor of Norway for the King of Denmark, was adopted by the new King of Sweden as presumptive heir to the crown; but he did not accept this honour, till after the

the conclusion of peace between Sweden and Denmark.

The Spanish insurgents were beaten: the city of Rosas surrendered to the French arms.

Marshal Augereau continued the siege of Tortosa, Tarragona, and Gironna. St. Andero, which had been taken by Ballasteros, was retaken by the French on the 11th of this month.

On the 18th Marshal Suchet obtained a great victory over general Blake.

King Charles IV. was then at Marseilles. While these events were taking place in succession, the union of the Ecclesiastical States to France took place. On the 10th of June, the French standard was hoisted on the castle of St. Angelo at the sound of cannon. The arms of the French empire were substituted for those of the Holy See.

The disputes of France with the Holy See exasperated the Spaniards, who then began to consider the war, not as a war for independence simply, but also as a war of religion.

The

The following was the junction of the French armies in Germany:

The head quarters were at Ebersdorf, where the Viceroy of Italy had joined the Emperor. One division of the army of Italy, under the command of general Macdonald, remained at Gratz, in Stiria. Marshal Lefebvre was at Liertz. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo was marching to Vienna. General Vandamme, with the Wurtemberg army, was at Polten, Melck, and Krems. Davoust was on the right bank of the Danube, opposite Presburg: Marmont, at Laybach: Prince Joseph Poniatowski, following his successes in Austrian Poland. The Archduke Ferdinand had been repulsed at Warsaw, and was retreating to Austrian Silesia, pursued by generals Zaioncheck and Dombrouski. Austrian Poland began to rise. The Russians had entered Gallicia on the 3rd of June. The Viceroy of Italy marched for Hungary. Ever since the battle of the Piava, the Archduke John had continued retreating: he formed his army at Raab, where he joined the Archduke Palatine. A battle took place

near this town on the 14th of June: the army of Italy was victorious: Raab was invested, and, after a long bombardment, surrendered to the French on the 24th of June.

The corps assembled by the Duke of Brunswick Oels, reinforced by a body of Austrians, had some success in Saxony. On the 24th of June it occupied Dresden and Leipsic. The King of Saxony withdrew all his family to Frankfort on the Maine, as did the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg,

Holland.

Marshal Dumonceau was appointed governor of Amsterdam; and de Winter, commander of the squadron in the Texel, the Vlie, and at Harlingen.

General Hogendorp, who had just been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Russia, received his dismission, and his place was taken by Mr. Reynolds.

The French took possession of Fort Rammekins,

mekins, in Zealand, by surprise, without giving the King any information of it. Mr. Mollerus, secretary of legation at the Court of Russia, was superseded by van Zuilen van Nyvelt.

The French papers denounced an illicit trade carrying on upon the coast of Oldenburg: yet this coast was guarded by numerous detachments of French custom-house officers, and the government of Oldenburg had given up the superintendance of all the trade to these officers. The only subject of these complaints was the carrying trade, that took place between Oldenburg and Holland. But could a trade be called illicit, that took place only after the exhibition of certificates delivered by the government, or by persons, delegated for the purpose? France had already begun to cut Holland off from the rest of Europe, and to take from it the commercial connexions with Germany still remaining to it, that she might the sooner attain her desired end, that of reducing the country to desperation.

On the 17th of July the Emperor wrote the King the following letter:

"Brother, I received your letter of the 1st of July. You complain of an article in the Journal * * * *: it is France that has reason to complain of the bad spirit prevalent in your country. If you wish me, to name to you all the Dutch houses, that are the trumpeters of England, it would be very easy. Your custom house regulations are so badly executed, that all the correspondence of England with the continent is carried on through Holland. This is so true, that Mr. de Stharemberg, the Austrian envoy, passed through that country to reach London, * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * Holland is an English province!

"Your affectionate brother,

"(Signed) NAPOLEON."

It is true, that Mr. de Stharemberg had passed through Holland in his way to England: but how many French agents had passed through it also?

It

It has been seen, that the orphans were destined for the career of arms, as they had formerly been in Holland to recruit the navy. This measure was really advantageous to these young persons on several important accounts.

1st. Because the government did not and never would make war voluntarily, which secured these young persons from the danger of being sent to a distance.

2nd. They were never to serve in the colonies.

3rd. The government was pledged to take care of these individuals from the moment they entered the military service, during their old age, and till their death.

4th. Because the numerous establishments for orphans were most of them so full, and their finances so deranged, that the children daily suffered more and more for want of the most indispensable necessaries.

They were almost all feeble and sickly for want of sufficient food and exercise.

Lastly, because they quitted these establishments at the most dangerous age, that of puberty,

puberty, feeble, and incapable of procuring an adequate maintenance; so that a great many, after having tried one place after another, finished by enlisting in the army, when they were exhausted and worn out, and had contracted habits, not merely foreign to a military life, but altogether repugnant to it. In fine, they made as bad soldiers, as they had been unfortunate mechanics.

This measure met with no opposition, when the nation was made sensible, that its object was very important; for it was in agitation, to render the conscription for ever superfluous, which could be effected only by encouraging voluntary recruits in every kind of way. This destination of the children too depended on their own will: the business was, to encourage and induce them to become soldiers, or at least not to render them averse to it: it was only those brought up at the expense of the state, or of the towns, who were bound to enter into the service.

When these institutions at Rotterdam were visited for the purpose of collecting those, who

who were desirous of becoming soldiers, the recruiting officers displayed very little address; and out of an excess of zeal, they persevered in their endeavours to persuade a greater number of young persons. This excited the attention of the public, to whom this work of military proceeding was a great novelty: and to be novel and military at the same time was twice as much as was necessary to startle Dutchmen. Besides, it is more than probable, that the governors of these houses, and other interested persons, endeavoured to set the public against this measure; which however it would have found convenient, had it not been apprehensive, that the government would have finished by taking into its own hands all those local establishments; which was impossible, since it would have been contrary to the fundamental laws of property. But for this fear, the masters and governors of these houses would have approved the measure, which took a great number of individuals off their hands.

A mob collected at the gate of the orphans' house at Rotterdam, and attempted to oppose their departure. The recruiting party thought proper to obey their instructions. The tumult increased: the armed burgesses, who endeavoured to protect their departure, were unsuccessful: the prolongation of the dispute heated the minds of the parties: the orders of government were not executed: Rotterdam was almost in a state of insurrection. The minister at war gave an account of it to the King, who was at Loo; and immediately ordered a body of troops, to march to Rotterdam. The King had time to countermand them; and, as the minister was afraid of the consequences of this affair, he sent him for answer: "Government alone has a right to judge, whether a measure be necessary or not: the only thing to be considered is, whether it have a right to enforce what it has ordered. Now I think I have this right; since the young people are not compelled; and since it relates chiefly to those, who are maintained at the public charge, and a similar measure

measure was formerly adopted with respect to the navy. It is sufficient therefore, to explain the spirit of this proceeding to the people of Rotterdam: as they are Dutchmen, just, and sensible, they will perceive the truth of what I urge; and not only will their opposition cease, but I am farther persuaded, that they will promote the success of the recruiting in future, since its object is of such great importance." Thus, instead of the apparatus of force and punishment, he sent the landrost, who assembled the magistrates, the counsellors (*vroedschappen*) of the town, and afterwards addressed the people. He read to them an explanatory letter from the King, and the business ended in the departure of the young persons and applause. Happy nation, in which good sense, equity, and humanity, equally reign! They who govern you, and are thoroughly acquainted with your character, will be the happiest and wisest of rulers, if they imitate your good sense, and seek to promote your welfare.

Austrian

Austrian War.

The bridges over the Danube had been secured against every attack, even against the effect of fire ships and implements of combustion. From the beginning of July preparations for a decisive battle had been making on both sides. The Austrian army was covered by redoubts; it had its left at Entzersdorf, and its right at Gross Asperne. The Emperor Napoleon left Schoenbrunn, and encamped in the field. He determined on a general engagement with the Austrians. It was fought on the 5th and 6th of July near Wagram. The combat began with the passing of the Danube at the island of Lobau. The Austrians, who had been driven beyond this island, could not maintain their ground at Entzersdorf, or at Wagram, and their rout was complete. This victory was soon followed by a suspension of arms between the emperors.

While

While the Emperor Napoleon was covering himself with laurels in Germany, and finishing the war with so much glory, the Pope was carried off from his palace and taken to France. By the 21st of July he was already at Grenoble.

Affairs of Spain.

A combined army of Spaniards, English, and Portuguese, 120,000 strong, approached Toledo. King Joseph attacked it at St. Domingo, near Talavera de la Reyna, and completely defeated it. In this battle, one of the most celebrated throughout the Spanish war, the Dutch artillery particularly distinguished itself. Captain Rodolph Trip, who commanded the 3rd company of horse artillery, though wounded in the head in the beginning of the action, continued to command his corps.

Expedition

Expedition against Walcheren.

An expedition had long been preparing in England, which was said to be intended either against Spain, or against Holland, at that time destitute of troops. Its army was then making war in Spain and Westphalia for France; which left Holland exposed to a foreign invasion without any concern, or perhaps for the purpose of finding an excuse for occupying it. This appears the more evident, because, when the King was informed of the landing of the English at Walcheren, he recalled his troops; but the King of Westphalia opposed their departure, on the ground of their being included in the grand army, and under his command. They quitted the French general however, and set off of themselves under the command of the Dutch generals, to fly to the assistance of their country, and obey the orders of their King.

On

On the 29th of July the English fleet, consisting of 130 transports convoyed by a few ships of the line, appeared off Domburg, in the island of Walcheren. In the night of the 30th it steered for the channel of Weere, and effected a landing between fort Häak and Terveere. The latter place, or rather ruined village, defended itself for thirty hours; but it could not hold out, and was taken possession of by the English.

Middelburg, the capital of the department, but destitute of means of defence, was also occupied. The landing could not have been prevented for want of troops. The batteries on the coasts are useless, when, attacked on the land side: if you get possession of one, the rest are soon turned, and must necessarily fall.

On the 31st of July the English took possession of the island of Schowen.

The object of this expedition was to seize the French fleet in the Scheldt, to excite disturbances in Holland and Belgium, to make a diversion against the French forces, victo-

rious

rious in Germany, and to give Austria time to augment her armies.

Thinking no more of this expedition, as an armistice had just been concluded in Germany, the King had gone to Aix-la-Chapelle, to pay a visit to his mother. In this city he received information on the 1st of August, that the English had landed. Immediately he wrote to general Chamberlhac, commandant of the 24th military division at Brussels, not to assemble his troops in the island of Cadzand, as he was doing, but to collect them at Antwerp, and place that town in a state of defence: that the fleet at Antwerp was obviously the aim of the expedition: and he should not therefore move to a distance from the dock-yards, in order to oppose a landing on the island of Cadzand; which would not be attempted, since it might be considered as accomplished, the moment the English had penetrated into the Scheldt.

Before the King left Aix-la-Chapelle, he dispatched Mr. van Citers, a Zealander, who was by chance at the baths, to general Bruce, commander

commander in Zealand; and recommended to this officer, to maintain as long as possible the different posts on the right bank of the Scheldt: and as the batteries on the coast were indefensible, if taken in the rear, that is to say, if attacked on the land-side, since general Bruce had very few troops, he recommended to him expressly, to maintain possession at least of fort Batz, which being close and covered by good ditches, was capable of stopping the enemy some time. It would seem he foresaw what would occur: for, though general Bruce received the despatch in good time, and sufficiently early to have prepared for an honourable defence, he evacuated the fort, and abandoned the batteries, long before the English made their appearance, after having sent word to the King, that he would be answerable for that post. Scarcely had the King arrived in Brabant, before he was informed of the evacuation of fort Batz. This inconsiderate act vexed him the more, because he foresaw, that the Dutch would not fail to be accused

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of connivance with the English; and also because the establishment of the latter in Zealand would necessarily give rise to an invasion of Holland. This rashness of Bruce endangered Antwerp and the French fleet: it had been witnessed by a great number of French officers and soldiers. The King dismissed this general, struck his name out of the list of members of the order of Union, and sent him to take his trial before the high military tribunal, his proper judges. These, after a trial sufficiently slight, acquitted him. He could not have defended the batteries on the coast; but he could have maintained himself in Batz, a close fort, or at least have waited there the approach of the enemy. The King however repented his having dismissed him without a trial, and overlooked the long services and bravery of an officer, who was a man of honour, for his first fault. The Emperor wrote to the King: "I hope you have shot the traitor Bruce, who so cowardly surrendered fort Batz. To abandon a fort like Batz, without firing a single gun, is

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the height of cowardice and treachery. Why did he not rather cut down the dikes?

"Schoenbrunn, August 22, 1809."

It was expected in France, that he would have been shot: this was openly expressed: when it was found, that he was slightly punished, this did not give satisfaction. It is apparent however, that the King exceeded his authority even in what he did. The general was subjected to a second trial, in which his dismissal was confirmed, and he was condemned to a short imprisonment.

The King left Aix-la-Chapelle on the 1st of August, and reached Amsterdam the next day. Stopping there only to give some orders, he set off again, and on the night of the 3rd entered Brabant, proceeding with his guard, and all the troops he could muster, to place himself in front of Antwerp. Thus he stopped the progress of the enemy and kept him in check.

He left to marshal Dumonceau the command of the sea and land forces of Amster-

dam and the coast; entrusted marshal de Winter with that of the flotilla, and admiral Ruysch with that of the flotilla stationed near Krammer. This flotilla was moved from the Meuse to the Scheldt, by passing the river Eendragt, and posted itself between Bergen-op-zoom and Batz. The young Osserwaarde, an officer of merit and courage, who commanded the station before Flushing, being surprised and surrounded by the English fleet, made his way through it, and joined admiral Ruysch.

While France advanced a few troops in depôt and national guards, the only forces she had to defend herself, the English, masters of Batz, and scarcely 2000 toises distant from the territory of Brabant, could with great difficulty land in it, and attack Antwerp. The King did not hesitate to strip all Holland; persuaded, that they had not two expeditions ready, and consequently that the rest of the kingdom ran no risk. Thus he assembled a corps of 8000 men, marched to meet the English, and kept them

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in check. They remained more than a fortnight without landing, notwithstanding the feints they made every day. Every hour that elapsed was an advantage to Antwerp, which was continually receiving reinforcements of national guards and from the depôts. Besides, the Dutch army from Germany was rapidly approaching under the command of general van Hasselt. Throughout Holland all was in motion: volunteers were raised in all parts, and hastened to Brabant: the fortified towns were victualled with alacrity: Breda was entrusted to general Collaert. Bergen-op-zoom was placed under the command of brigadier de Millet: Steenbergen and Willemstadt were entrusted to colonels Howen and Breunot: Brill and Helvoetsluys were put into a state of defence under general van Helden, who commanded in the isle of Voorn. Formidable batteries were erected opposite Willemstadt; and no ship belonging to the enemy dared to show itself in the Haringvliet, or in the channel between Flakee and Duyveland. In short, the object of the expedition was frustrated.

Antwerp was secure, as soon as it required to be taken by siege, and by an attack in form; and for this France was indebted to Holland, whose troops alone faced the English for a fortnight: on the side of France there were only recruits and artificers armed, joined with Dutch troops of the line, and the royal guard.

The King repaired to Antwerp. He held conferences with general Chamberlhac, admiral Missiessy, and general Fauconnet, governor of the town; and would not take the command of the French troops without the Emperor's consent.

But at length he accepted it at the repeated request of the archchancellor Cambacères and the French minister at war: he inundated the left bank of the Scheldt, and hastened the works at Antwerp: he occupied the left bank, and the head of Flanders, with the division of Charbonnier: in fine, he neglected nothing, during the first weeks of the expedition, to resist the attempts of the enemies. General Rampon was second in command of the French recruits, artificers, and

and national guards; who were composed of the divisions of Allemagne, Chamberlhac, Charbonnier, and Olivier. The Dutch army was composed of two divisions, and a reserve. Generals Martuschvitz, Suden, Sels, Kort, Heyligers, Stedman, and David Bruce, were employed in this corps.

After having kept the enemy in check for a fortnight, and saved Antwerp, the French fleet, and the dock-yards, the King suddenly received information, that the Prince of Ponte-Corvo was coming to take the command. He was then much vexed, that he had yielded to the first impulse of his zeal, and exposed himself to this affront from France. He left his troops however, with the exception of his guards, to support the French army, but under the orders of the marshal of Holland, Dumonceau, whom he sent from Amsterdam for this purpose. This conduct towards him proved but too clearly the distrust under which he laboured; and perceiving how large an army was collecting in Brabant, it was easy for him to imagine, that

that this expedition would form the pretext for an invasion of Holland difficult to be prevented.

Under these circumstances, the King had at least the consolation of having saved Antwerp, and stopped the progress of the enemy.

When he was on the banks of the Scheldt, in face of the English, whose vessels were continually increasing in number, and threatened a landing, a general officer observed to the King, that his feeble corps was much exposed; and that it would be proper, to risk in that post only a small part of the army, which would be sacrificed, but ensure the safety of the rest. "I do not understand this language," answered the King: "let us all expose ourselves more, if it be necessary, but sacrifice no one."

At this period the senate of Paris had said in an address to the Emperor: "The Dutch nation, whose territory is attacked, have proudly hoisted their ancient banners, which call to mind so many lofty deeds of the valorous Batavians, and he of your august brothers,

thers, who reigns over them, is at their head." When the Royal Journal inserted this address, it added a note, of which the following is an extract. "We thank the Senate for doing justice to our nation. Yes! it does display its banners: it did not hesitate a single moment, when, a fortnight ago, the frontiers of France and of Holland in the vicinity of Antwerp were unprotected, and the French troops were assembled at the extremity of the island of Cadzand, to expose its own coasts, and its own dockyards, in order to protect those of Antwerp. Battalions of volunteers were formed and armed in all parts of the realm, the skeletons of regiments filled up their ranks, and will still reinforce the army of Brabant, under the command of marshal Dumonceau, whose object is to support the operations of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo with all his forces.

"The nation has not lost its energy; as it proves by the number of volunteers, who offer themselves every moment; and by the activity with which the efforts of the King are seconded

seconded in all quarters, who is creating a new army, that will more than supply the place of that of Germany and Spain; the absence of which afforded the enemy an opportunity of making themselves masters of the island of Walcheren and South Beveland, a misfortune to which they had long been exposed, and which every body had foreseen, since the national army was sent away."

On the 15th of August the King reviewed the whole of the combined army at Zandvliet, and celebrated the Emperor's birth-day with great pomp: but his successor, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, arriving on the 16th, he set off on the 17th in the morning for Amsterdam.

Flushing however, which had been besieged ever since the 1st of August, capitulated on the 15th, notwithstanding several reinforcements of troops had been thrown into the place. General Monnet, who commanded there, kept the field till the 6th: on the 14th the enemy began to fire on the town, and, after it had been bombarded for a day, general Monnet surrendered it on being summoned.

moned. The place was given up on the 18th. The English entered by the gate of Ramenskens. The Dutch artillery, which did the duty of the town, covered itself with laurels; as did general Osten, who headed all the sallies. The garrison were conveyed prisoners to England: the officers retaining their property, and the non-commissioned officers, soldiers, sailors, &c. their knapsacks. When the Emperor Napoleon received information of the surrender of Flushing, he wrote to the minister at war, to assemble a council of inquiry, composed of the senators Aboville and Rampon, vice-admiral Thevenard, and Count Songis, first inspector-general of the artillery, to investigate the conduct of general Monnet. The council reported, that general Monnet was guilty, for he had not cut the dike, agreeably to his orders, rather than surrender the place; he had sustained a bombardment of six and thirty hours only; he had a garrison of more than four thousand men, and had surrendered before the enemy had

had passed the ditch, or made a breach in the rampart.

The Duke of Brunswick-Oels, after having occupied Dresden and Leipsic, penetrated into the kingdom of Westphalia, pursued by the Dutch, and after having defeated the Westphalians, who opposed his march, embarked on the 7th of August at Elsfleth and Bracke. It appeared, that his design was to embark at Cuxhaven: but as this town was occupied by general Ewal, he found himself obliged to cross the river at Newburg and Verden, and proceed to Delmenhorst.

On the 11th of August King Joseph obtained a splendid victory near Almonacid. The Dutch covered themselves with laurels on the occasion. The 9th corps of the French army having proceeded to Toledo, on the 9th of August, sallied out by the gates of Alcantara and St. Martin. The Dutch general Chassé drove the enemy from the advantageous post they occupied, pursued them close at their heels, as far as the village of Bourgellos,

Bourgellos, and took several prisoners. In the affair of the 11th the Dutch hussars particularly distinguished themselves; and lieutenant-colonel Trip, of the artillery, who had covered himself with laurels the preceding month, did the enemy much mischief. First lieutenant Clarion, aide-de-camp of general Chassé, made himself noticed, and had a horse killed under him. Lieutenant Stephanson distinguished himself. As a reward for the good conduct of the Dutch in the Spanish army, they were authorised to reckon each of their campaigns in the peninsula as two. King Joseph re-entered Madrid on the 15th of August.

The King's birth-day was celebrated at Amsterdam in 1809 with the sincerest joy. The day preceding he received the congratulations of the different bodies of the state: the next day, the third festival of the order of Union was held. All the knights assembled at the palace in the grand hall of the order. After the King had arrived, and was seated on the throne, the statutes of the order were

were read, and the new knights took the oath, and received their decorations from the hands of the King, who delivered the following speech.

"Knights, in assisting at the installation of the new colleagues, whom this year has given us, and the account of the losses we have sustained, call to mind your duties as Dutchmen, and as knights. You were desirous of an opportunity of proving the sincerity of your sentiments toward your country, and toward me: an occasion now offers itself. The enemy have surprised a separate and defenceless portion of our territory, and made themselves masters of it: your countrymen groan under a foreign yoke; from this they are to be delivered. When a part of the nation suffers, it is the duty of all to feel it, and join in its deliverance. Knights, in whatever way you serve your country, let your efforts be made in conjunction: it will be long perhaps, ere you find a similar occasion, to display your sentiments, and turn to account

account that union, which is the fundamental principle of our order. A great number of knights are on the frontiers; others are about to follow them, at the head of those new battalions, whose ardour and zeal already give presages of success, and will soon justify my cares and my endeavours. You also, who are called to serve your country and fellow citizens, either in our temples, or in the administration of public affairs, or in your several occupations, beneficial and even indispensable to society, though domestic, have services equally important to render: the support of your voices, of your efforts, of your devotion, is not less necessary to your country, at a time when the nation has need, not merely of persevering in those proofs of energy and activity, which it has given, but even of redoubling all its means, all its exertions, and particularly of the most perfect union, as well as of the most entire confidence us. Be you, to whom I am so closely attached by the sacred ties of this institution, the first to set them the example. Tell them, that

that the more your country is assailed by a succession of misfortunes, the more I feel my obligations and regard to it increase. Tell them, that an attack so sudden and unforeseen, after the conclusion of the continental armistice, could not but surprise us, and grieve us still more; thanking divine Providence, as we incessantly did, for having preserved our country from being the theatre of war, and the evils it brings with it: that it afflicts us particularly, if, as we have reason to believe, the blind and virulent enemies of commercial states, and of our country in particular, have brought on Zealand the scourge of war, so prompt to assail, and often so slow to withdraw.* A nation like yours, however, will find means to defend itself, and rush in a body to the assistance of your threatened country: it will know how to unite sentiments of piety with those of a legitimate and vigorous defence. It belongs to you, knights,

* To whom does the author allude? to the French nation at large? to the leading men of it? to his brother Napoleon?—*Tr.*

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to hold this language at this moment; to you, who, connected with all the orders of the state, and united solely by the noble purpose of your duty and the love of your country, can speak no language but that of truth and reason. It is thus we should answer the common enemies of the nation, who deny it with so much virulence; while the whole world knows and esteems the valour, virtues, and character of my people. Where could I find a better answer against prejudices, injustice, and perhaps hatred, than a faithful recollection of what your country has been, and what it still shows itself at the present moment. Let us despise their calumnies, their comments, their discourses, and their crafty writings, for which times of such difficulty afford but too great an opening. Repeat to them, that they may be fully convinced of it, the more misfortunes accumulate on the kingdom, the more my feelings and obligations will attach me to it: that all the endeavours of its enemies will have a result contrary to their wishes; and that dangers and calamities will not only cement the intimate union

union between the prince and the nation, and their immoveable and reciprocal fidelity, but that of all Dutchmen with each other, whatever difference of opinion or condition may formerly have subsisted between them."

The same day the Dutch army in Brabant was willing to celebrate the King's birth-day by a brilliant enterprise in the re-taking of fort Batz..

General Kort Heyligers, with the carabineers and light infantry of the 1st regiment of chasseurs, availing himself of the English ships being at a distance, forded at ebb tide the arm of the sea, that separated fort Batz from the main land, with unspeakable danger and difficulty, the water being up to their necks. They were obliged to attempt the passage at three in the morning, when the tide was at the lowest; and when a tremendous storm concealed both the fort and the land from the soldiers, the short duration of the ebb did not admit of risking a greater number of troops, and the army remained on the shore, anxious for the fate of the detachment.

ment. The thunder roared; the night was dark; day at length appeared, and the Dutch flag was seen waving on the walls. The carabineers and chasseurs were received by the inhabitants of Batz with the most lively demonstrations of joy, and shouts of "Long live the King!" Captains Schuurman and Tabor distinguished themselves by their courage and intrepidity; as did lieutenants Carnabé and Wolf van Westerholt of the engineers.

These brave men, who had exposed themselves almost without hope of return, were rewarded. The King expressed his satisfaction to general Heyligers, promoted the officers just mentioned, and ordered, that all who formed part of this detachment, without distinction of rank, should wear a sabre embroidered in gold on their regimentals,* and that the non-commissioned officers should have double pay during the campaign.

* This mark of distinction was afterwards extended to every soldier wounded in battle: perhaps the order of merit ought only to consist of this.

On the 6th the Dutch occupied Tergoes, and the whole of the island of South Beveland. To prevent the English goods brought into Zealand by the English army from being introduced into the other parts of the country, the King ordered the following measures to be taken of his own accord:

"Art. 1. The conveyance of colonial produce, and of merchandize and manufactures, which are deemed English by article 10. of the law of the 31st of May, 1805, coming from the department of Zealand, or the islands of Over Flakke and Goederede, and intended for other parts of the kingdom, is prohibited till farther orders. All the goods, which shall be conveyed contrary to the present prohibition, shall be confiscated, as well as the vessels employed in conveying them.

"Art. 2. The inhabitants of the department of Zealand, and of the islands above mentioned, shall be bound to declare, in twenty-four hours after notice given, to persons

persons nominated for the purpose, the quantity and kind of colonial produce, manufactures, and goods, deemed English, which they had previous to the invasion, under penalty of having such, as are found upon search and examination not to have been fully or truly declared, confiscated immediately for the benefit of the public treasury.

"Art. 3. Such of the inhabitants, as have only the quantity necessary for their own family use of such produce or goods, shall be exempt from the obligation of making this declaration.

"Done at Haarlem, the 12th of July, 1809."

A public exhibition of productions of native industry was made at Amsterdam. The prizes were distributed on the 21st of September by the minister of public worship and of the interior; and as the distribution for the preceding year had not been made, this took place at the same time. They consisted of three gold and twenty-five silver medals for the year 1808; and of five gold

and fourteen silver for the year 1809. Besides these, G. Haan, aged thirteen, living at Gouda, received a gold watch by way of encouragement for having distinguished himself in the manufacturing of carpets. Among the articles were distinguished the woollen cloths of Leyden, the velvets of Amsterdam, the linens of Haarlem and Utrecht, the dimities and leather of Brabant, &c.

On the 18th died the counsellor of state de Smeth van Alphen, grand cross of the order of Union, a man highly estimable for his virtues, and for the services he had rendered the state as a commissioner of the sinking fund.

On the same day the prizes of painting and engraving were distributed in the hall of the vroedschap at Amsterdam. The following are names of the successful candidates. Mr. Schœffer, of Amsterdam, for the best historical painting on a national subject, fl. 3000. The subject was, as already mentioned, the departure of Jakob Simonszoom de Ryk, commonly called the Dutch Regulus

gulus. The colouring was not good; but the design and expression were very striking. Mr. Bauer, of Harlingen, for the best sea-piece, fl. 3000. Mr. van de Kovi of Franeker, for the best portrait, fl. 2000. Mr. van Os, of Amsterdam, for the best landscape, fl. 2000. Mr. Sonnenberg Galant, of Amsterdam, for the best flower piece, 1500; and Mr. Wolff, of Rotterdam, for the best engraving, fl. 2000.

On the 27th of September the Emperor wrote from Brunn, in Moravia, a letter full of reproaches and dissatisfaction, without any just cause. This letter gave the King great uneasiness.

On the 17th of September peace was signed at Fredericsham between Russia and Sweden. The latter engaged to follow the continental system, and to make peace with France and Denmark. By this peace Russia acquired Swedish Finland; the islands of Aland, Savolax, and Kuralia; West Bothnia, as far as Tornea, &c.

The war in Spain continued. Victor was

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at Toledo, Soult at Palencia, Suchet at Saragossa, Sebastiani at Aranjuez, St. Cyr at Barcelona, and Ney at Salamanca.

In the month of October the English evacuated Zealand. They retired at first to the island of Walcheren, which also they quitted on the 24th of December. The Dutch general, Kort Heyligers, took possession of it immediately. Veeres was occupied by the carabiniers of the 1st regiment of chasseurs; the guarding of Middelburg was entrusted to the burgesses; and the Dutch troops entered Flushing. The English, before they quitted this town, blew up the sluice at the entrance of the basin, and filled it with stones, rubbish, and fragments of bombshells. The piles, that supported the facing of the basin on the south-east side, were cut off at the level of low water mark; all the timber facing was thrown into the basin, and the platforms for careening were demolished in the upper part. The harbour for ships of war was blocked by sinking a large vessel in the middle of the passage, at the entrance between the two piers;

piers; and several small vessels were sunk in the interior of the harbour. The general storehouse was burnt down. All the corners of the buildings were undermined and thrown down. In the dock-yard every thing was destroyed, even to the cisterns. The parapets and platforms of the fortifications facing the sea were destroyed. The pieces of ordnance left behind were spiked, and their trunnions knocked off. A part of the wall of defence of the new powder-magazine was demolished, and the vaulted roof was thrown down, though the principal walls still remained. The fortifications on the land side however had been repaired, and covered afresh with turf, by the English, and could soon be placed in the best state of defence.

At their departure the English had a heavy gale of wind, that did much damage to their fleet.

The war in Spain was carried on in a manner altogether particular. The insurgents, after being separately beaten in all parts of the kingdom, and having fatigued the French armies

armies by their marches, finished by being compelled to a general engagement: but whatever the issue of this might be, they immediately recommenced their desultory warfare and separate attacks, till they were again obliged to accept and lose a second battle. In spite of the affair of Talavera de la Reyna, Almonaeid, &c., where the insurgents suffered greatly, they kept the different corps of the French army on the alert, without taking any rest. On the 19th of November they collected a new army near Occana, amounting to fifty-five thousand strong, and were entirely defeated. A few days after another battle took place at Alba de Tormes, where the Duke del Parque had assembled thirty thousand men. General Kellerman attacked and defeated these on the 29th of November.

On the 10th of December Gironna capitulated after an obstinate resistance and a siege of ten months.

It must be confessed however, notwithstanding the successes obtained by the French army

army in Spain, that its situation at the close of 1809, was worse than at the end of 1808. The revolution had acquired fresh strength: the battles, that incessantly succeeded each other, had rendered the insurgents more inured to war: and, except a few towns kept in subjection by fear, the whole country was united. The hatred of the clergy and nobility was daily increased by the measures taken directly against them; and these two classes, who had the direction of every thing in Spain, thenceforward considered the war as their own. Rochefoucault says, that all men willingly expose themselves from a sense of duty or of honour; but that few expose themselves as much as is necessary, to render the cause they maintain successful. It is this which distinguishes one good army from another; it is for this reason, that armies of insurgents, necessarily composed of men who have their hearts in the cause, are so difficult to vanquish. A general said of old, that there were three things necessary, to insure success

cess in war; money, money, and money: we may say with equal truth, zeal, zeal, and still zeal.

Austria.

At last, after protracted negociations, during which a state of the greatest uncertainty prevailed, peace was concluded at Vienna on the 14th of October. By this treaty Austria ceded to France Austrian Istria, Carniola, part of Carinthia, of Croatia, and of Upper Austria, Western Galicia, Cracovia, Zamosk, &c. She gave up to Russia a territory with a population of 400,000 souls in the easternmost part of Gallicia. She approved and confirmed all that France had done, or should do, with regard to the Teutonic order, to Italy, and to Spain. She adhered to the continental system, agreeably to the measures of France and Russia, &c. This treaty was declared common to Holland and the other allies of France.

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The same day on which peace was signed, the Emperor united into one single state the circle of Villach, Carniola, Austrian Istria, the provinces of Fiume and Trieste, the sea coast, that part of Croatia, Dalmatia and its islands, under the name of the *Illyrian Provinces*. He left Vienna on the 16th of October, and on the 25th he arrived at Fontainbleau.

The Emperor of Austria issued on the 24th of October a proclamation to the army, in which he announced the conclusion of peace, and acknowledged in his soldiers the support of his throne.

On the 25th of October the fiftieth year of George III. was celebrated by public rejoicings. Among the most remarkable acts, that took place on this occasion, must be mentioned the dismissal of the Russian prisoners on their parole: a step, indicating, that the dispositions of the two governments towards each other were become more amicable, and foreboding the approach of peace between them. Force may do what it will,

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it cannot alter the truth, though it may suppress it. It acts in the moral world, as in the physical; flexible bodies are bent by it for a moment, only the better to resume their spring.

In the month of November the English made themselves masters of the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca and Cerigo.

At this period the sovereigns in alliance with France were summoned to Paris. The solemn coronation of the new kings was given out as the object of this assembly: but it appears, that the purpose of these princes was nothing else, but that of obtaining an enlargement of their dominions. The King had resolved not to repair thither, if he should be invited. He remembered the ill reception he had met with in 1807. His journey then had ended in the violation of the territory of Holland, and the imprisonment of several Dutchmen; and he was even apprehensive, that he himself would not be suffered to return this time. On a sudden marshal Verhuel made his appearance at Amsterdam.

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He said he had no commission but that of *speaking to his King* on the peculiar situation of the country, and this of his own accord: but he soon discovered the secret of his journey, by seeking with address and perseverance, to persuade the King to repair to Paris, after the example of the other allied sovereigns. These were the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Westphalia, and Naples, and the viceroy of Italy. The King refused, offering for excuse his having received no invitation. A few days after he received a letter from the Emperor, inviting him to come to Paris.

The French army in Zealand was then making some movements towards Brabant, calculated to excite alarm. In proportion as the English army withdrew, the more the French army increased in number, and domineered in the country. In this situation it was necessary to take a decisive part: either a desperate game must be played, in attempting the legitimate defence of Holland against a power, that had made Austria, Rrussia, and

and England tremble, and almost destroyed Prussia in a day, and this without hope of success; or endeavours must be made to prolong a painful existence, by continuing to yield to necessity. The King consulted the nation by his ministers, who were then Krayenhoff for the war department, Appelius for the finances, van der Hem for the navy, Twent for the watterstadt, van der Capellen for the interior, Hugenpaths for justice, and Roell for foreign affairs; the late minister Mollerus, then in the college of heraldry, Cambier, vice-president of the council of state, Reuvens and van Gennep, counsellors of state, whom he particularly distinguished. Van Leyden van Westenbarendrecht was no longer in the ministry, and Hinlope was dead. The absence of two such eminent men, under such circumstances, was a great misfortune to the state and to himself. Krayenhoff alone, a man of merit, a good engineer, and above all an excellent patriot, gave his opinion for a legitimate defence. All the forces were of the same sentiments

sentiments, particularly the navy, and above all rear-admiral Lemmers, an officer of a highly distinguished character, and well versed in every thing relative to his profession. All the rest, and what is very strange, particularly the great officers of the kingdom, marshals and others, were for submission. The moment was critical and of great importance. It was necessary to join England and play a desperate game, that the political existence of Holland might terminate with glory; or to resign ourselves to whatever might happen, and gain time. But all the ministers joined in opinion, that the storm must be appeased; and that the best mode of doing this was for the King to repair to Paris. They pressed him, they conjured him so urgently, that he gave way: but he declared, that it was contrary to his own opinion, and that they impelled him to adopt the worst alternative. Thus he consented to the journey. Before his departure however, he convened the Legislative Body, which he left to sit during his absence, that the nation might be ready for

for all events. He was wrong to go, since he went against his inclination, as the annual message which he delivered himself, sufficiently shows. The following are the terms in which the Legislative Body expressed its sentiments, on coming in full assembly to the palace.

"Sire," said the president van de Poll*, "the Legislative Body of the realm, in the name of which I have the honour to speak, is eager to embrace the opportunity conferred on it by your Majesty, of laying at the foot of your throne the homage of its devotion and respect. Sire, the first wish of the legislative assembly is, and ever will be, for the happiness of your august person; and that it may please Providence, to preserve in your Majesty's hands to an advanced age the reins of a government, which will insure permanent happiness and prosperity to our country. We are convinced, sire, that, if it depended on your Majesty alone, this country would enjoy all

* Not the burgomaster of Amsterdam, but another van de Poll, a good patriot, and a very worthy man.

all the advantages, that its situation seems to secure to it; and we join with your Majesty in lamenting, that the misfortunes, by which all the continent has been desolated, extend to this corner of Europe, which, living only by means of its industry, and unable to give this a free scope except in time of peace, must of course be more averse than any to the commotions of war, the burden of which, as a necessary consequence, must always fall in great measure on itself.

"But the legislative assembly wishes rather to avert your Majesty's eyes from an object, too much adapted to affect the sensibility of your heart; and takes a pleasure in contemplating those, to which, agreeably to your Majesty's intention, we shall immediately turn our thoughts. We perceive, sire, with gratitude and admiration, that, amid the dangers by which the state appears to be threatened on one hand, the paternal solicitude of your Majesty extends so far as to watch over the preservation of the private prosperity of each of your subjects, while general circum-

stances cannot fail to give it alarm on other objects of deep misfortune. What indeed, sire, can be more important, or more interesting to all the inhabitants of the kingdom, than to know, that all their differences will be decided with impartiality, on sure and invariable principles, and by persons who possess every qualification necessary to superintend the course of justice, and our civil rights? The indefatigable foresight of your Majesty has just turned our attention to this point; and the assembly will concur with zeal in seconding the extensive views of your Majesty on the subject.

" It is with regret, sire, that the assembly, which shares your Majesty's sentiments, cannot but be sensible, that the extraordinary circumstances, in which the country is placed, instead of admitting any alleviation of its fiscal burdens, imperiously demand fresh efforts. It feels, sire, that no alternative is left your Majesty, but that of finding such means, as will press least heavily on your people. But, sire, it knows the state of the public treasury, and

is equally convinced of the urgent necessity of meeting the indispensable demands occasioned by the unforeseen invasion of a part of your dominions by the enemy's troops, demands however, which every noble-minded citizen must prefer to the ruin of a country so dear to him.

" The assembly is disposed, sire, to second your Majesty with all its power, and it will consider it as a sacred duty, to concur in the various measures, which your Majesty may deign to submit to its deliberation; measures, that bear the stamp of your wisdom, and love for your subjects. It esteems itself so much the more happy, in being enabled to-day once more to offer at the foot of your Majesty's throne the sincere assurances of its sentiments, as it has just been informed, that your Majesty, accepting the invitation of your august brother, his Majesty the Emperor and King, has resolved to repair for some time to Paris, and is in haste to undertake this journey, on account of the anniversary of the coronation of his Imperial Majesty, which is rapidly approaching.

"Nothing, sire, could compensate your Majesty's absence from your dominions, not only to us who have the honour of being near your Majesty, but to your people in general, except the intimate conviction, that, wherever your Majesty may be, the happiness of your subjects will not cease to be the most cherished object of your care and solicitude.

"May Providence, which has so often loaded this country with its benefits, bless your Majesty's endeavours for our happiness: may it render you at some future day the happy witness of that prosperity, which your noble and generous heart ardently desires to establish: may it grant your Majesty, in your high connexions, those blessings, which in its wisdom it may deem most fitted, to confer on your Majesty the enjoyment of true and unalterable felicity. May the same Providence, and this is the united wish of us and of all your people, speedily bring back to us a monarch, whom we venerate as a King, and love as a father."

The King answered in the following words:

"Gentlemen,

"Gentlemen, we learn with sensibility your sentiments towards us. It is always pleasing to us to see you, and to receive the assurance of them. We come agreeably to custom, at the commencement of your session, to state to you the situation of your country. We have a thousand fresh thanks to render Providence, that our prayers have not been wholly rejected; and that our cares have succeeded, in enabling us to meet the exigencies of the state, in spite of so many aggravating circumstances.

"The disasters of the watterstadt; the renewal of the continental war; the increased expenditure for the war and the navy this year beyond the estimate of the budget; the increase of the deficiency occasioned by the necessity of paying the interest of the loans of 1808 and 1809, since they are filled, though the budget of the year bore these loans only by way of memorandum, which makes a considerable addition to the expenditure; the demands for the grand works of the watterstadt, which the treasury was obliged to advance,

vance, the loan negociating for this purpose not being concluded; the continuance of the severe and fatal measures with regard to trade and navigation; are so many obstacles, which it has been difficult and painful to surmount. If the treasury have experienced some momentary embarrassments, every one must be sensible, that it is a necessary consequence of the difficulties of the present times. These difficulties ought even to enhance the credit of the treasury, since they afford proof of the efforts and perseverance of government, in meeting and surmounting every obstacle.

"We announce to you with some satisfaction, not only that our hopes and calculations for the present year have been confirmed and surpassed, but also that we have found the means of keeping within the limits of the budget of 1809, though the expenses of the war have been increased three millions. Such a result could be obtained only by savings in other branches of the administration: but it affords us the pleasing gratification, and an irrefragable proof, of what may be effected

in

in this nation by a government, that endeavours to deserve and justify its confidence: and we think ourself obliged to declare to the country our conviction, that, within a few years after a maritime peace, the finances of the state will be re-established, if the people retain that patriotism, and those sentiments, by which they are distinguished*. Our minister of the interior will communicate to you, before the end of your session, a statement of the situation of the kingdom. By this you will be convinced, that all the branches of the public administration tend progressively to their improvement; and that, were it not for the effects of the maritime war, the evils of which we share with almost all the countries of Europe, our endeavours would perhaps procure the nation that repose and happiness, of which it has great need.

* "The crisis was approaching. This declaration was made, as an answer to the reports propagated at Paris by the French government, that the finances of Holland were at the last extremity, and ruined without resource.

After

After the projects of laws, which have already been presented to you, the orators of our council of state will lay before you the budget of next year, and a comparative view of the last budgets. The codes of the finances, and the code of trade, will not be ready for your present session; but you will learn with pleasure, that they are going on with success: the criminal code, and the Napoleon code, have been in full action from the commencement of the year: and the judicial code, which was presented to you for examination at the opening of your session, may be introduced at the beginning of next year, if it receive your approbation. The project of a law on the uniform management of the watterstadt has been presented to us; and we have reason to presume, that this second project, drawn up with more care than the former, will merit your assent.

"We must take this opportunity of expressing to you the pain we feel, at being obliged to adopt changes and innovations, against which the Dutch in general feel repugnance,

pugnance, from their attachment to their customs, and their respect for their ancestors. A single remark however must convince you, that we approve and propose to you only such innovations and changes, as are indispensable to ensure the existence of the kingdom, consolidate its government, and lead to the personal welfare of every one: it is, that all must be aware of the value we set on public opinion and the suffrages of the nation. We are not ignorant, that changes and innovations give pain to many, and often occasion those who introduce them to be hated, when their salutary effects are slow and progressive. Did we not seek the advantage of the state, therefore, and were we more regardful of self, we should make no change, introduce no innovation; we should never have proposed any, never have carried our thoughts beyond our own existence: but we should have been wanting in our first duty, which is to seek the general good of the country; to establish and consolidate its government, and those institutions that are necessary to it; without

any

any consideration of self, without partiality or prejudice, and solely for the purpose of establishing the laws and institutions of the country on the most durable basis.

"We have now, gentlemen, to speak to you on a subject, of which you have been aware for some days, and which must have been mentioned to you by our minister of the interior, when communicating our wish to receive you now, several days before that we had formerly assigned.

"You know, gentlemen, under what restraint we are placed by the present circumstances of trade and navigation: you know likewise the peculiar state of the nation in this respect, and how delicate, as well as difficult to endure, affairs of this kind are in it. In the hope, that a short absence will be advantageous to the nation, we are hastening to comply with the desire, that the Emperor, our august brother, has expressed of seeing us. We hope, that to the accomplishment of our most pleasing wishes, and our own private satisfaction, will be added happy results for the tranquillity and welfare of a people

people we love, and with whose fate ours is united.

" It is painful to us, to leave you at a time, when all the affairs of the state require our utmost united cares and efforts: but our absence will be short, and we flatter ourselves with returning early enough, to finish every thing respecting the finances of 1810 before the first of January, which must be deferred till that period.

" We shall give to our council of ministers the necessary instructions for the conduct of affairs during our absence. The council of state will continue its important occupations; and it is our wish, that you remain permanently assembled till our return.

" Be assured, gentlemen, that we depart with an ardent desire and firm intention of seeing you again before the end of the next month; and that this determination, with the hope that the journey may be of some advantage to your country, will diminish the solicitude we feel at being absent from you on the approach of winter.

" We

" We hope we may escape this season fresh calamities of the kind that assailed us last: at least, if the contrary must happen, we shall then be among you.

" We reckon, gentlemen, on the continuance of your sentiments towards your country, and towards us; of which we shall stand in need more particularly during our absence."

The King was always a good Frenchman, passionately loving his country, and this the more because his name was of Italian origin. He repeated it incessantly. When, after the erection of the empire, he had answered, that " he felt and estimated highly the signal honour, that the nation had done his family and him; but that the title, in which he should pride himself most during life, was that of a Frenchman," the answer was from his heart: it was not made up of those trite and empty phrases, which are often repeated lightly and without meaning. He could not therefore but experience a real pain, which a throne

throne cannot efface from the mind of a peaceable and moderate man, when he must expatriate himself. It was impossible for him to escape one of those cruel alternatives, either to place himself in a state of hostility and opposition to France and the Emperor his brother; or to act on a system, that must inevitably cause the ruin and destruction of Holland. One measure alone could conciliate both, and at the same time lay the foundations of the prosperity of the country: and this was, to preserve a state of perfect neutrality. This was the object of his most secret policy, and his most ardent wishes: and it must be avowed, that this state would have been as favourable, and as necessary, to Holland and to Europe in general, as an armed and warlike state of Poland would be to that country, and to all the countries on the continent. For this reason he was desirous of giving up his office of constable, when he accepted the throne of Holland: but it was precisely for the opposite reason, that the Emperor attached this clause expressly

pressly to the constitution. Different duties may be reconciled, however difficult they may be: but when they are diametrically opposite, all conciliation between them is impossible. The King therefore aimed from the commencement of his reign, he might say from the first instant of it, at being completely independent: but this he had not attained at the time of which we are speaking. His maxim in this respect was, to preserve unshaken fidelity in his alliance with France; but at the same to be independent, or to become absolutely and entirely so. This is the secret of the conduct of a man, who was known to be devoted to his duties, and was forced into a state as repugnant as possible to his inclinations. He had been informed, that the Emperor had said openly at his head quarters at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, when the peace with Austria was concluded: "All is finished here: we must now march against *Spain*, and especially against *Holland*." Had the latter country been in a condition to defend itself, this speech would have been to its King

King a peremptory reason for not going to France: but in an opposite state of affairs it was the last step that remained to be tried; and if it could only prolong the existence of the nation yet a little while, there was no room for hesitation, though in his opinion there was little probability of success.

From this it is easy to conceive the pain he must have felt from the imputations of Anglomania, of which he was the subject. The Emperor said publicly in the circle of his ministers, when speaking of his brother, a man most truly French of any in existence, that *he was so no longer, he was rather the brother and ally of King George.*

He set out for Paris however on the 27th of November. He took with him Roell, his minister of foreign affairs, a man of extraordinary merit, honour, and probity, for whom he had a great partiality, and who might easily have become his best friend, if he had been inclined to be so. But he was constantly regretting the ancient order of things in Holland, that is, the civic oligarchy;

garchy: he had been pensionary of Amsterdam, and had distinguished himself in his office.

He took with him likewise his grand marshal, Roest van Alkemade, a young man of great promise, brave and tried, of a good catholic family: rear admiral Bloys van Treslong, his aide-de-camp, a true Dutchman, very grave, very circumspect, an excellent administrator, loyal and faithful; Count Charles de Bylandt, and colonel Trip, equerries; and Corverhoff of Amsterdam, chamberlain; deserving young men, who had shown their attachment to him, and whom he had distinguished.

As he passed through Breda, he gave orders in writing to the governors of that place, of Bergen-op-Zoom, and of Bois-le-duc, to pay obedience to no orders without his signature, and to admit no foreign troops without it.

He foresaw and told Roell, that they should have battles to sustain at Paris; and that assuredly no cession should be obtained from him,

him, even of a village. It will be seen, that it turned out differently; and the truth shall be spoken. A history is neither a panegyric, nor an account of what ought to be done; but a recital of what has actually taken place, with the reasons by which the persons have been guided. The present is rather a justification than a eulogy: but in the painful and truly singular circumstances, in which Europe, and particularly Holland and its King, were placed, a full and complete justification is itself a eulogium, especially if it follow from a statement of facts, that he was always consistent in his principles, and in the motives of his conduct.

It has been seen, that in 1808 the Emperor Napoleon had proposed the cession of Brabant and Zealand in exchange for ample indemnifications in Germany. It has been seen too, that the King peremptorily refused it, and the answer to this refusal was, that no more should be said about it, and he might set himself at ease on the subject. But when there was a considerable army in Brabant,

and the French troops, which were very numerous in Westphalia and the Hanse towns, drew near Holland; when Prussia was nearly annihilated, and Russia and Austria vanquished; and when the Ecclesiastical States were attacked: the King saw too plainly, that his turn was come; and that if he could avert the fate with which he was threatened, it could only be by submitting to necessity, and removing every pretext for it. What was essential was to exist, till the time when the nation, if it were not or could not be itself, should find an opportunity of recovering its liberty with the rest of Europe, which the extravagant system of France could not retain much longer in such deep slavery. A legitimate defence was allowable and just; but it must be short, and even physically destructive to Holland, since it must be desperate and occasion the ruin of all its people: while a passive resistance would leave intact the rights of Holland, its name, and the hope of recovering its independence entirely, even through France herself; who must

must sooner or later return to her natural policy, and consequently cherish and protect Holland. *To gain time by all possible means,* therefore, was the wisest conduct. Was submission disgraceful, when all the rest of Europe was more servilely obsequious than Holland to the will of France?

He was afraid, that, during his stay in Paris his name would be employed against his will, to authorise many things in Holland; that such acts, as the Emperor might think proper, would be printed in the French papers, while he was deprived of all power of disavowing them: and under this idea he had settled with his ministers, that every act or paper whatever, not ending with some Dutch words, or with the device of the order, *Doe well enzie niet om,* should be considered as a nullity. It was for this reason also, that he gave orders to the commanders of the fortresses of Brabant, not to admit any troops without an order written and signed by his own hand. His aim was to render all diplomatic falsehood or treachery impossible.

He arrived at Paris on the 1st of December. At his first interview with his brother, he had a warm dispute on the affairs of Holland, in which he took the part of his country, and defended its interests, with much energy and success, in presence of several persons of importance in France.

It had been his intention, to remain at the house of the Dutch ambassador, as he would not alight at his own. But being informed, that this would give offence, and add to his difficulties, he went to his mother's, in the suburb of St. Germain. Very few persons ventured to come and see him, and he scarcely received any visits from public bodies.

At the same time deputations from the kingdom of Italy were received by the Emperor. To their congratulation on the happy issue of the war with Austria, he answered, that "his constant policy was, so to organise his empire, that war should ever be kept at a distance from his provinces of France and Italy." This was a threat to the barrier states, particularly to Holland, which was still

still better adapted to cover the northern frontiers of the empire, than the Illyrian provinces to protect the kingdom of Italy. This intention was manifested still more in his speech to the Legislative Body.

The assembly was to be opened by the Emperor with great ceremony. The custom was for his brothers to be in the same carriage with him. The King cared very little about being of the party, for these secondary honours of parade, these mute exhibitions, were little to be coveted in his eyes.

The day before he paid a visit to the Emperor; when the grand master of the ceremonies said to him with an air of embarrassment, "Your Majesty, then, declines participating in the ceremony?" The King answered: "A person must be invited, before he can refuse; and I have to tell you, that I know nothing of the matter, but by report." He received no invitation, however. "Well," said he, "I will go to the tribune with the kings of Saxony and Bavaria." But this would have been still less agreeable to the Emperor.

Happily

Happily he learned from several persons of his family, to whom the Emperor had read the speech he was to deliver the next day, that Holland was mentioned in it. He remained at home therefore, very impatient to hear what had been said. The following was the passage that related to Holland. "Holland, placed between France and England, is equally crushed by both: it is the outlet of the principal arteries of my empire. Alterations will become necessary: the safety of my frontiers, and the interests of both countries, well understood, imperiously demand them!" These sentiments were still more clearly unfolded in the speech, which the minister of the interior delivered in the same assembly. "Holland," he said, "is in reality only a part of France. This country may be defined by saying, that it is the alluvion of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, that is, of the great arteries of the empire. The nullity of its custom houses, the dispositions of its agents, and the spirit of its inhabitants, which incessantly inclines to a fraudulent trade

trade with England, make it a duty, to prohibit trade on the Rhine and the Weser. Thus crushed between France and England, Holland is deprived both of the advantages repugnant to our general system, which it must renounce, and of those it might enjoy. It is time, that all this should return to its natural order."

The astonishment and indignation of the King, when he heard this passage, may easily be conceived. He was then sensible of the great fault he had committed by this cursed journey; and how difficult it would be for him, not to say impossible, to escape the snares laid for him. As Louis and Hortensia had lived almost always separate since their marriage, except three short periods of a few months, they each demanded of the family council a separation, presently after Louis arrived at Paris. But after a meeting of the family council was granted, the separation was refused, though it had long existed in point of fact.

He was informed of the refusal of the family council

council verbally: no document whatever was transmitted to him on a result, on which however depended the ease, condition, and fame, of a man of honour.

The marriage of the Empress Josephine was dissolved; a demand for the purpose being made to the senate on the 16th of December. This demand was *immediately* preceded* by so many feasts, balls, and amusements, that they might have been supposed the accompaniments of a general peace, rather than of a painful and affecting transaction. Be it as it may, the Empress Josephine gave her consent to it, as did her children. The King, who had affairs enough on his own hands, and had at first refused his consent, yielded to these last considerations. He was required to be present at the ceremony. He was present likewise at the farewell festival, as it might be called, given the Empress Josephine by the city of Paris; and at the ceremony of the 1st of January. These were the

* So it is in the original, but the author must surely have meant *succeeded*. *Tr.*

only

only times of his appearing in public during five months stay at Paris. The nullity of the marriage of the Empress Josephine was acknowledged by the Church on the 12th of January.

PART

PART VI.

1810, *and Conclusion.*

As soon as the King found the turn which affairs took, he made attempts to escape: but measures to prevent it were too well devised, as he was convinced in the different excursions he made with this design at St. Leu. His house was guarded, and the guard made its report every day to the grand marshal of the palace: he was watched most strictly: he was a prisoner. At first he merely suspected it; but he soon obtained certainty on this point, though he affected not to perceive it.

He consented, to go and reside at Trianon: but it was not long before he returned from it abruptly. At the moment when he was expecting the fulfilment of the promises made him, at the moment when the projected marriage

marriage of the Emperor gave reason to hope for a change of system and conduct with regard to him, the measure of injustice and ill usage was heaped up. He did not despair however of finding means to escape. He sent Count Charles de Bylandt, his equerry, to Amsterdam, with orders to defend the lines by means of inundations and the navy, and to prevent at least the occupation of the capital.

The minister at war, Krayenhoff, who had received instructions at the King's departure, to put the lines into good condition, but with all the prudence and secrecy possible, exerted his activity and zeal with less restraint, as soon as he had positive orders for the purpose.

The minister Mollerus, who had the portfolio of foreign affairs during the absence of Roell, received a very impertinent note from the ambassador la Rochefoucauld, which he answered with firmness. As soon as this news arrived at Paris, the Emperor flew into an extreme

extreme rage, and the most violent altercation took place between him and the King: which was the more so, because the latter, far from concealing the orders he had given, defended them. On a sudden the Emperor changed his tone, and said to him coldly: "Very well! take your choice: either countermand the defence of Amsterdam, and dismiss Krayenhoff and Mollerus: or here is the decree of union, which I will send off immediately, and you shall return to Holland no more. It is indifferent to me, that I be taxed with cruelty and injustice, provided my system advance: you are in my power."

At sight of the decree of union, the King felt, that he must yield in spite of himself. After reflecting a few moments, he resolved to appease the storm at any price, and escape in the night, to get to Holland. He announced therefore, that the two ministers, who had manifested too much zeal, should be dismissed; and that, if the Emperor would at length put an end to his attacks on Holland, and be reconciled

reconciled to him, he would do what he could on his part.

On this he retired, reckoning upon setting off immediately. But it had not escaped the Emperor, that the King had reflected for some time in silence, before he gave his answer: he suspected, or must have suspected, that his sudden change, and complete submission, to use the word, were the consequence of a scheme: and he persevered in the system he had adopted towards Holland and its government. The King had scarcely returned to his mother's, before he saw the arrival of some picked gendarmes, who stationed themselves at the gate, and would not go away. They said they were there by immediate orders from the Emperor, having particular instructions, independent of the guard of grenadiers, that mounted constantly at the gate.

He strongly felt this gratuitous insult, to which he was exposed as it were before the eyes of the sovereigns then at Paris. The King ought to have fled the day after his arrival, as he

he had perceived, that there were no longer any hopes: but it was now too late; all the measures of prevention were too well taken. It is true, that if he had fled the day after he came to Paris, he would have been accused of precipitancy and fickleness. Besides, he had promised to make every possible effort to defer the union: he made the whole question consist in the delay of this catastrophe.

Immediately after his arrival at Paris, detachments from the French army had presented themselves before Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, to occupy those places: but the orders given to the commandants prevented any surprise or treachery, and the French troops were sent away. The Emperor considered this dismissal of them as an insult to France. The minister at war, the Duke de Feltre, came to speak to the King, and imperiously demanded an explanation; which he refused to give, because it appeared to him useless. On this the minister, on going away, said: "So your Majesty declares war on France and the Emperor!" The King answered: "No

"No ill-timed jesting, if you please, M. le Duc; a prisoner does not declare war: let the Emperor leave me at liberty, and he may do then as he pleases." The Duke de Feltre however executed this unpleasant commission with much moderation, and with the best grace possible. Soon after he was obliged to write the following letter: it was on the 18th of January.

"Sire, his Majesty the Emperor and King has seen with displeasure, that the commandants of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda have allowed themselves, to refuse his troops of the army of the North an entrance to those places. In acting thus, they have failed in the obedience they owe to a marshal of the empire, commanding the French and Dutch troops between the Scheldt and the Meuse.

"The Emperor has learned this conduct with the more pain, as the event had been foreseen, and previously prepared for; and as the Dutch government, by ordering the French troops not to be permitted to enter Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, has in this directed

rected an affront to be put upon the Emperor's arms gratuitously, and without motive, the Emperor has ordered the country between the Scheldt and the Meuse to be occupied militarily by marshal the Duke of Reggio, and every one, who makes the least opposition to it, to be put to the sword.

"These measures being the necessary consequences of the orders given to the marshal, I had no occasion to apprize your Majesty of it. What has taken place at Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda imposes on me the duty of informing you, that if there be any means of extricating Holland from its unpleasant situation, it can only be by appeasing the Emperor, not by a vain attempt to oppose him. If any person advise your Majesty, to throw down the gauntlet to France, he must be an enemy both to yourself, and to Holland, since the least appearance of a fresh resistance cannot fail to prove fatal to it. The events it would produce must operate too powerfully on your Majesty's sensibility, for me to mention them beforehand. I have no doubt, that they will

be

be obvious to yourself; particularly when you reflect maturely on one consideration inseparable from the whole of this affair, which is, that no country of the great empire, or of the grand confederation, can refuse the entrance of the Emperor's troops into its territory without a crime. I am, with respect, &c.

(Signed) "THE DUKE DE FELTRE."

At the same time lieutenant-colonel van Rymsdyk of the engineers, stationed at Bergen-op-Zoom, came from general de Millet, the governor, to demand orders. The King gave permission to the French troops, to be quartered in the fortified towns of Brabant provisionally; but he directed a protest to be entered against any usurpation of authority.

The union of Brabant and Zealand to the empire soon began to be announced in the French and German newspapers, in order to prepare men's minds for it; and afterwards they were taken military possession of for France, agreeably to the following decree of the 20th of January.

"Napoleon, &c., Desirous of providing for the security of the northern frontiers of our empire, and of rendering our dockyards and arsenal at Antwerp safe from all attempts, we have decreed and do decree, as follows:

"1. An army shall be formed under the name of the army of Brabant.

"2. All the countries situate between the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the ocean, shall form the territory of the said army.

"3. All the French and allied troops by land or sea, found within this district, shall make part of the army of Brabant.

"4. All the fortified places between the Meuse and the Scheldt, shall be placed in a state of siege.

"5. The French and Dutch authorities and military commandants shall conform to the present provisions."

Thus the Dutch were already treated as subjects, in directing them to conform to French decrees without the conset of the prince ruling over them, and even without apprising him of it. To such an act there was but one

one answer to be made, resistance by force of arms. The reasons against this however have been seen, and they were of the more force at this period, as such a step would have been precisely what was wished. Thus the King was placed in a singular situation: by yielding, he would effect ultimately what was desired against Holland; by resisting, he would have done it still more: the latter alternative would have been more honourable to himself, but more prejudicial to Holland; he did not hesitate therefore to reject it.

The Emperor's decree was soon carried into execution. On the 24th of January Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom were occupied by two French brigades. As soon as this news reached Amsterdam, the counsellor of state Elout set out from Breda, agreeably to the King's orders, and made a protest against all foreign usurpation of authority. The local administrations entered their protests likewise.

On the 28th of January the commander in chief of the French army published the following proclamation at Breda.

"Inhabitants of Brabant, of the island of Zealand, and of those between the Meuse and the Scheldt, his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon having ordered us, to take military possession of the countries situate between the Meuse and the Scheldt, I send thither prudent and disciplined troops, which have orders to respect your persons, your manners, and your customs. I hope in return they will meet a reception worthy of the good conduct, for which I readily pledge myself beforehand."

A few days after Willemstadt and Steenburg were taken possession of; and then Dordrecht. The oath of fidelity and obedience to the Emperor was demanded: but it was everywhere refused, in spite of imprisonment, and every possible kind of ill treatment. The landrost of Zealand, Ermerins, and the burgomaster of Bergen-op-Zoom, Vermeulen, distinguished themselves particularly by their courage and fidelity. To such alone belong the title of Dutchmen. In due course as these towns were taken possession of, all English goods found in them were confiscated.

During

During this time the interior administration of the kingdom became more and more difficult. The payment of the interest of the loans of 1808 and 1809, amounting to four millions of florins, was to be effected by increasing some of the taxes. This increase was proposed to the Legislative Body, and received its assent. Accordingly one tenth was added to the taxes on land and houses (*verponding*), servants, horses, cattle, furniture, hearths, grinding corn, and inherited property: an eighth was added to those on weighing corn and provision, slaughter-houses, wine, brandy, and foreign productions: and lastly, a fifth to the tax on gin. The ordinary session of the Legislative Body being closed, it was immediately convened in extraordinary session on the 17th of January. Mr. Jarges of Groningen was appointed president.

While these things were going on, the French newspapers were filled with invectives and reproaches against the King, and against

Holland. In the speech which the King of England made to the parliament on its opening, he had made no mention of them. This deficiency the Moniteur supplied by notes, to which an answer was given in the official newspaper (of Holland). But it is useless to enter farther into this war of the pen, uninteresting now, and at all times contemptible.

The King testified his resentment and vexation by the following message to the Legislative Body.

Paris, February the 1st.

"Gentlemen, I deceived myself, when I thought I should return before the 1st of January. You see by the articles annexed, taken from yesterday's Moniteur, that the issue of our affairs is connected with the conduct of the English government.

"The pain I have felt has been greatly increased, by reading the unjust accusation brought against us, of having betrayed the cause of the continent; in other words, of having

having broken our engagements: and I write to you, to diminish the effect, that such an unjust and astonishing charge will have on your minds, as well as on that of every good Dutchman. When the nation, and you who are more particularly called to watch over its interests, endured with so much pain and difficulty, yet at the same time with so much resignation, the doubling of taxes, enormous increase of debt, and armaments so large and disproportionate to the population and state of the kingdom, during the four years that have elapsed since the commencement of my reign, we were far from thinking, that we should one day be accused of having failed in our engagements, and not done enough; particularly when the state of maritime affairs weighed more heavily upon us, than upon all the countries put together, and, to add to our distress, we supported besides a continental blockade. It is this conviction, gentlemen, that should induce us to have patience, till the moment when the justice of his majesty the Emperor, my brother, shall make reparation

paration for a charge, which we are so far from deserving.

"I cannot foresee, how long I shall be prevented from fulfilling the first and most ardent of my wishes, that of returning to my capital, and finding myself in the midst of you, at this critical and painful juncture. However distant it may be, rest persuaded, that nothing can alter my attachment to the nation, and my devotion to its interests, or my esteem and confidence in you."

Another minister visited the King as a mediator; but as the King did not think him a friend either to the Emperor, or to any part of his family, or even to any prince, and their principles did not agree, he kept him at a certain distance. This was perhaps unfortunate: but how could he place confidence in such a statesman, when he said he was sorry for him, for not having punished with exemplary severity the sort of revolt at Rotterdam, that has been mentioned above? "It should have ended by hanging up fifty of the most

most guilty:" said he. "I chose rather to put an end to it by a letter;" answered the King with a smile.

It was in the same spirit he said to M. des Cazes, then secretary to the cabinet. "I cannot see why bayonets should be employed, to quell petty tumults in a playhouse. To put an end to them, artificial shower-baths should be made in the ceiling over the pit, to give it a sprinkling when too noisy. This would be far more suitable; for there is a great deal of sportiveness in theatrical riots, and to punish them seriously as crimes is to crush a fly with a rock."

It was at this period, that France made attempts to open a negotiation with England by means of the Dutch. The King was to take a part in it thus. Since his arrival at Paris, it had been continually repeated to him, that the Emperor had never had any intention of uniting Holland to France: that his continual menaces were merely stratagems, the object of which was, to impel the English to recall their decrees, and to conclude

clude a peace, from the fear of the prodigious increase of maritime power, that France would acquire, if she seized upon Holland: that he would not even take Brabant and Zealand, though they were so necessary to the national boundaries of the empire: that, so far from it, he would unite to Holland the grand duchy of Berg, and even the Hanse Towns: that this was too visibly for his interest and that of France, for him to be ignorant of it. To the King's incredulity, and the numerous observations that belied such a hope, Champagny answered: "that an implicit obedience to the measures of France was required from Holland: that the Emperor was hurt at his brother, who owed every thing to him, choosing to entertain principles, and adopt a policy, different from his; and that he would not alter his opinion and be reconciled to Holland and the King, unless the latter gave him irrefragable proofs of his intention, to follow implicitly the will and policy of the Emperor: that, as the first proof, he required the King to assist in a stratagem,

and

and send some person to England, to see whether the threat of a union would not determine it to make peace. For this purpose he presented him with a copy of a letter, to be written by him to his ministers; which he rejected with indignation, because in it he was made to say, that he was convinced of the necessity of the union, &c. However, as the minister assured him, that it was only a feint, and was necessary to convince the English, that this union was inevitable unless a peace took place; he agreed to write a letter to this purport to his ministers van der Hem and Mollerus; who by his orders sent to London Mr. Labouchere, the head of the house of Hope and Co., a man of great intelligence, and distinguished by his manners and address. Mr. Labouchere, furnished with instructions from the two ministers abovementioned, set off on the 3rd from the Brill, and arrived in the evening of the 5th at Yarmouth, and on the 6th at London. He had several conferences with the Marquis Wellesley, who answered in a written note, that England

England was much interested for the situation of Holland; yet, notwithstanding this, England would not recall her decrees of blockade, till France withdrew hers, being no more than a just retaliation, &c.

The King, thwarted on every side since his arrival at Paris, and worn out by a continuance of the most bitter disputes, at length was taken dangerously ill on the 10th of February. He was attacked by a nervous fever, that threatened his life: but, unhappily for himself, he recovered.

While he was ill, the Dutch general Suden was despatched to him by his ministers, to inform him, that the French army of Brabant was continually drawing nearer to Amsterdam; and to ask him, whether they should put themselves into a state of defence. The King dismissed him with an order, to put themselves into as good a state of defence as possible; and above all to be on good terms with the flotilla, which alone could effectually protect the lines of Amsterdam.

The finances were in a critical state. Scarcely

Scarcely was the King out of danger, when, on the 20th of February, he sanctioned the creation of six millions in bills, to be employed in defraying the most urgent expenses. These bills were to be received as cash in paying by anticipation the territorial tax for 1810. They were to be received also, after the 12th of June in this year, in payment for other taxes owing to the state; and such as remained in circulation on the 1st of January, 1811, were to be exchanged for money.

Not content with the humiliation, to which he had reduced a Frenchman, and a country, the affection of which he had attached or was on the point of attaching to France, the Emperor required him to lay a heavy tax on the funds; in other words, to commit an act of bankruptcy; to adopt the conscription, and the same regulations for the custom-houses as in France; to follow her regulations on the nobility; and to suppress the rank of marshal. Never would he have yielded a single point, had he not been convinced, that these

these extravagant claims were merely pretexts, to reject the submission, and to seize on the country: for it was reduced to such a point, as to receive as a favour the promise of allowing it to retain its name, after dismembering it. Firmly persuaded, that France was absolutely determined to have Holland, and that a certain sense of shame alone had caused any hesitation about it at the period of the marriage, the King resolved to avoid even any pretext for it: excepting those few things, that were repugnant to his conscience and his feelings, as the conscription, the bankruptcy, &c., he yielded on all other points. It must be remembered, that at this period nothing indicated the catastrophe of France, the power and fame of which still went on increasing; and it might then have reasonably been thought, that, if France seized upon Holland, it would be for ever. The example of Poland and of Venice could not be overlooked. In consequence he countermanded the acknowledgment of the ancient nobility of Holland, and the title of

marshal.

marshal. But while the Dutch, and all who were strangers to the peculiar situation in which Holland stood with respect to France, were indignant perhaps at the weakness and blindness of the King, he was neither blind nor weak, and sacrificed to his new country more perhaps than it is right to do. The state of things must be fully known under all their aspects, to enable us to form a sound judgment: and hence it is, that history should be written *at a distance,* unless it is by the persons most concerned, and masters of every circumstance; hence likewise, we should never be too hasty in judging of the conduct of governments; we should wait till time, and a perfect knowledge of their situation, place us, as it were, in the circumstances in which they were at the time of acting.

Accordingly the King directed the title of admiral or general to be substituted for that of marshal; and on the 13th of February, the Legislative Body annulled the law on the constitutional

constitutional nobility, which it had approved in the month of October.

It is impossible to give an accurate idea of what he had to suffer during his stay at Paris: while on the other hand he saw with profound grief, how much pleasure the Emperor took in sapping the foundations of his own work, and enfeebling and injuring his dearest interests, at the time that he fancied himself advancing and confirming his system.

"If you would consolidate the present state of France," wrote the King to his brother, while at Paris, "and obtain a maritime peace, or attack England with success, it is not by measures like those of the blockade, that you will attain your purpose: it is not by destroying a kingdom yourself erected: it is not by weakening your allies, and paying no respect to their most sacred rights, or to the first principles of justice and the law of nations: but, on the contrary, by rendering France beloved, and strengthening and confirming such sure allies as your brothers.

The

The destruction of Holland, far from being the means of injuring England, will strengthen it by all the wealth and industry that will take refuge there. There are but three means of actually wounding England; separating Ireland from her, seizing upon the East Indies, or an invasion. The last two, though the most effectual, cannot be carried into execution without a navy. But I am astonished, that the first has been so easily given up: it would be a much surer means of obtaining peace on favourable terms, than that of the system of injuring yourself and your allies in the attempt to produce a greater injury to your enemy."

The Emperor paid no regard to these just reflections: however, he had a safe game to play with his brother; he treated him as an enemy, while the latter did not cease to consider France as the natural ally and support of Holland and its government. Tormented incessantly during the months of January, February, and March, directly and indirectly, to renounce Holland; pressed in the most

adroit ways, and by the most artful reasonings, even by those who most enjoyed his confidence; he resisted all, and thought that his honour, and the jet of the question, consisted in his not suffering any thing to discourage him, and in returning to Holland, no matter by what means. The examples of Poland and Venice were incessantly present to his mind; and he said to himself: "Every thing may be repaired, if Holland can any way exist till a general peace takes place: but if it be once erased from the list of nations, there is an end of Holland for ever. If Poland revive, it will be from the interest Europe has in fortifying itself against the colossal power of the North, whence have issued all the hordes, by which the South has been invaded. But who will ever feel interested for Venice? or who would for Holland?"

The minister of whom we have spoken, the Duke of Cadore, and marshal Verhuell, contributed to confirm the King in this opinion by their negotiations and importunities; whether honestly, or that they had penetrated

trated his secret intentions, and acted in consequence indirectly. Roell judged very rightly of the state of things: with a single word he could have prevented the King from signing the dismemberment of Holland, but he did not do enough to divert him from it, though it grieved him profoundly: he dreaded the resentment of the Emperor, to whom he had been depicted as an anti-Frenchman, in other words as a good Hollander. It is true, the politics of that time were of a nature, to throw the most sagacious off the *scent*, if I may be pardoned the expression. Marshal Verhuell was desirous of being a marshal of France, and being amalgamated with the corps of those marshals covered with glory and with scars, on account of his brilliant but only action at Guinez. He did not see, that the Emperor had raised him from the rank of lieutenant to that of admiral, in order to make him the creature of France. Thus Verhuell, perhaps without suspecting it, was merely the agent and tool of the Duke of Cadore, instead of being the ambassador of

Holland. Roell, watched, dissatisfied, disgusted, foresaw the destruction of his country, yet knew not what to say. The Emperor treated his brother sometimes like a subject, sometimes like a stranger and even an enemy, as will be seen by the following papers:

Letter from the Emperor to the King.

"Sir, my brother; I received your Majesty's letter. You desire me to make known to you my intentions with regard to Holland: I will do it frankly. When your Majesty ascended the throne of Holland, part of the Dutch nation wished to be united to France. The esteem for that brave nation, which I had imbibed from history, made me desirous, that it should retain its name and its independence. I drew up myself its constitution, which was to be the basis of your Majesty's throne, and placed you on it. I hoped, that, brought up under me, you would have had such an attachment to France, as the nation has a right to expect from its children, and still more from

from its princes; I hoped, that, educated in my politics, you would have felt, that Holland, which had been conquered by my people, owed its independence solely to their generosity; that Holland, weak, without an ally, without an army, could and must be conquered, the moment she placed herself in direct opposition to France; that she ought not to separate her politics from mine; in short, that she was bound to me by treaties. Thus I hoped, that, in placing a prince of my own family on the throne of Holland, I had found a medium of reconciling the interests of the two states, and of uniting them in one common cause, in a common hatred to England; and I was proud of having given to Holland what suited her, as in my act of mediation I had found what was suited to Switzerland. But I soon discovered, that I had deceived myself by a vain illusion; my expectations were frustrated. Your Majesty, on ascending the throne of Holland, forgot that you were a Frenchman; and even bent all the powers of your reason, and tortured the

the delicacy of your conscience, to persuade yourself you were a Hollander. All the Dutch who were inclined in favour of France have been neglected and persecuted; all who were subservient to England have been brought forward. The French, from the officer to the common soldier, have been repulsed and disregarded; and I have the pain of seeing the French name exposed to contempt in Holland, under a prince of my own family. However, the esteem and honour of the French name are held so high in my heart, and I have carried them to such a pitch by the bayonets of my soldiers, that it is not for Holland, or for any people whatever, to insult it with impunity. The speeches of your Majesty to your nation have teemed with this ill-disposition. We see nothing in them but allusions to France. Instead of setting the example of oblivion of the past, they are incessantly calling it to mind; and thus flattering the secret sentiments and passions of those, who are the enemies of the French. Yet, of what do the Dutch complain? Have

they

they not been conquered by our arms? Do they not owe their independence to the generosity of my people? Ought they not rather to bless the liberality of France, who has constantly left her custom-houses and canals open to their trade, who has availed herself of her conquest only to protect them, and who to this hour has made no other use of her power than to consolidate her independence? What then can justify the conduct pursued by your Majesty, insulting to the nation, and offensive to myself? You ought to know, that I do not separate myself from my predecessors; that I deem myself consolidated with them all, from Clovis down to the Committee of Public Safety; and that I hold the ill so wantonly said of the governments that have preceded me, as spoken with design to give me offence. I know it is become the fashion with certain people, to panegyrize me, and deride France: but they, who do not love France, do not love me: those, who speak ill of my people, I consider as my greatest enemies: had I no other cause of dissatisfaction, than seeing the contempt

tempt into which the French name has fallen in Holland, the rights of my crown would authorise me, to declare war on a sovereign, my neighbour, in whose territories my people were allowed to be insulted: yet I have done no such thing.

"But your Majesty has deceived yourself with regard to my character: you have entertained a false idea of my good-nature, and of my sentiments towards you. You have violated all the treaties you have made with me: you have dismantled your fleets, dismissed your sailors, disorganized your armies, so that Holland is without force by sea or land; as if warehouses of goods, merchants, and clerks, could consolidate a nation. These may constitute a wealthy association; but no one is a king without finances, without sure means of raising recruits, and without a fleet.

"Your Majesty has done more: you availed yourself of the moment, when I had my hands full on the continent, to allow Holland to renew her connexions with England,

and

and violate the laws of the blockade, the only means of injuring that power effectually. I testified to you my dissatisfaction at this conduct, by interdicting your access to France; and I showed you, that without having recourse to my armies, I could place Holland in a more critical situation, by shutting the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse against her, than if I declared war; and could isolate her, so as to annihilate her.

"This stroke was felt in Holland. Your Majesty implored my generosity, appealed to my feelings as a brother, and promised to change your conduct. I thought this warning would be sufficient, and took off the prohibition from my custom-houses: but your Majesty soon returned to your former system. It is true, I was then at Vienna, and engaged in a serious war. All the American vessels, that came to the ports of Holland, when repelled from those of France, were admitted by your Majesty. I was obliged, a second time, to shut my custom-houses to the

the trade of the Dutch. Certainly it was difficult to make a declaration of war more openly. In this state of things we might consider ourselves as really at war. In my speech to the Legislative Body I have hinted at my dissatisfaction, and I will not conceal from you, that it is my intention to unite Holland to France, as rounding her dominions, as the most deadly blow I can give England, and as delivering me from the perpetual insults, which the leaders of your cabinet are incessantly offering me. In fact, the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse must belong to me. The principle in France, that the banks of the Rhine are our boundary, is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes me in your letter of the 17th, that you are sure of being able to prevent all commerce between Holland and England; that you can have finances, fleets, and armies; that you will restore the principles of the constitution, by giving no privileges to the nobility, and abolishing the rank of marshal, which is a mere caricature, and incompatible

patible with a power of the second order; and finally, that you will cause the stores of colonial merchandize, and every thing that has arrived in the American vessels, which ought not to have entered your ports, to be seized. My opinion is, that your Majesty undertakes engagements, which you cannot make good, and that the union of Holland with France is merely deferred. I confess, I am not more interested in uniting to France the countries on the right bank of the Rhine, than I am of uniting to it the grand duchy of Berg and the Hanse towns. I may therefore leave to Holland the right bank of the Rhine, and I will remove the prohibitions enjoined my custom-houses, provided the existing treaties, which shall be renewed, are faithfully executed. The following are my intentions.

"1st. A prohibition of all trade and all communication with England.

"2d. A fleet of 14 ships of the line, 7 frigates, and 7 gun-brigs or sloops of war, manned and victualled.

"3d. An army of 25,000 men.

"4th.

" 4th. The suppression of the rank of marshal.

" 5th. The annihilation of all the privileges of the nobility contrary to the constitution, which I have given and guarantied.

" On these bases your Majesty may negotiate with the Duke of Cadore, through the medium of his minister; but be assured, that with the first packet-boat, the first vessel, that shall arrive in Holland, I shall revive the prohibition of the custom-houses; and at the first affront offered my flag, I will cause the first officer, who shall dare to insult my eagle, to be seized by force and hung up at the yard-arm. Your Majesty will find me a brother, if I find in you a Frenchman; but should you be unmindful of the sentiments, that attach you to our common country, you will not take it amiss, if I disregard those, that nature has formed between us. To recapitulate what has been said: the union of Holland to France is the step that would be most useful to France, to Holland, and to the continent,

for

for it would be most injurious to England. This union may be effected voluntarily, or by force. I have complaints enough against Holland, to declare war against it. However, I shall make no difficulty in acceding to an arrangement, that will give me the boundary of the Rhine, and by which Holland shall engage to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.

"Your affectionate brother,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

"Trianon, the 21st of Dec. 1809."

This letter throws fresh light on the false pretexts of complaints against Holland and its King. If France were generous towards Holland, the latter dearly paid for it. The most extravagant demands were made, because, as Holland could not fulfil them, France had always some sort of plea for invading it ready, in alleging, that it had not adhered to its engagements.

It will not escape the reader's observation, that there is a manifest contradiction between the

the manner in which the King is treated and considered in this letter, and that in which he is spoken of in the following: yet they were both written at the same period of his residence at Paris, and of the discussion of the various affairs of Holland. The dry and official style, in which he was treated when directly addressed, has been seen in the preceding letter: in the following paper it will appear, that, in addressing the Dutch, and even his own ministers, it was made a point to consider him, and to cause him to be considered, almost as a subject of France.

Note from the minister of foreign affairs in France to the Baron de Roell, minister of foreign affairs in Holland.

"The undersigned, minister of foreign affairs in France, is directed, to make known to his excellency the Baron de Roell, Dutch minister of foreign affairs, the determinations, to which his imperial Majesty is impelled by the

the present situation of Europe. If these determinations be of such a nature, as to thwart the wishes of the Dutch, the Emperor is undoubtedly sorry, and will adopt them only with regret: but inexorable fate, that presides over the affairs of the world, and wills men to be impelled by events, obliges his Majesty, to pursue with a firm step those measures, the necessity of which is demonstrated to him, without suffering himself to be turned aside by secondary considerations.

"His imperial Majesty, when he placed one of his brothers on the throne of Holland, had not foreseen that England would dare openly to avow the principle of a perpetual war; and that, to maintain it, she would adopt as the basis of her legislation the monstrous principles, that dictated her orders in council of November, 1807. Till that time her maritime law was no doubt combated by France, and rejected by neutral powers; it did not however preclude all navigation, but still left the maritime states a sort of independence. There was little inconvenience to the common

mon cause in Holland's carrying on trade with England, either by the medium of neutral powers, or by borrowing their flag. Marseilles, Bordeaux, Antwerp, enjoyed the same advantage. England had also to keep on good terms with the Americans, the Russians, the Prussians, the Swedes, and the Danes; and these nations formed a sort of union between powers separated by the seas.

"The fourth coalition destroyed this state of things. England, having contrived to unite Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, against France, found herself no longer obliged, to act with the same caution. It was then, that, by confounding words and things, she advanced her pretensions, to silence all the rights of neutrals, and caused them to vanish before a simple decree of blockade. The Emperor was obliged to retaliate; and, on his entering Berlin, answered the blockade of France, by declaring the British islands blockaded. Neutral powers, the Americans in particular, demanded an explanation of this measure. They were answered, that, though

though the absurd system of blockading a whole country was an intolerable usurpation, the Emperor confined himself to the stoppage of the trade of England on the continent; that the neutral flag should be respected at sea; that his ships of war and privateers should not disturb the navigation of neutral powers, as the decree should be put in force only by land. But this mode of carrying it into execution, which obliged the ports of Holland to be shut to the trade of England, hurt the mercantile interests of Holland, and was at variance with its ancient habits: the first source of the secret opposition, that began to exist between France and the Dutch. From that period his Majesty foresaw with pain, that the King of Holland would soon find himself in a strait between his first and imprescriptible duties, his duties towards the imperial throne, and the mercantile opinion of the Dutch nation. His imperial Majesty, however, armed himself with patience, and shut his eyes; expecting from the course of events some favourable incident, that might

extricate his brother from the painful alternative imposed on him by his situation.

"While these things were going on, the peace of Tilsit took place. The Emperor of Russia, provoked by the insults his flag had received from England while he was fighting for her, and indignant at the horrible outrage committed on Copenhagen, made common cause with France. France then hoped, that England would perceive the inutility of a longer struggle, and listen to an accommodation: but these hopes quickly vanished. At the same time, as they were vanishing, England, as if the expedition against Copenhagen had taken from her all sense of shame and broken through all her restraints, laid bare her projects, and published her orders in council of November, 1807; a tyrannical and arbitrary act, at which all Europe was indignant. By this act England regulated what articles might be carried by the ships of foreign nations; made it obligatory on them, to anchor in her ports before proceeding to their place of destination; and made them subject

subject to a duty. Thus she rendered herself the universal mistress of navigation, no longer acknowledging any maritime nation as independent; rendered all people her tributaries, subjected them to her laws, not allowing them to trade except for her profit; founded her revenues on the industry of other nations, and the produce of their territories; and declared herself sovereign of the ocean, of which she disposed in the same manner, as every government does of the rivers, that flow through the interior of its states. At the sight of this legislation, which was nothing less than to claim universal sovereignty, and which extended the jurisdiction of the British parliament over the whole globe, the Emperor felt himself obliged to proceed to extremities, and to employ every means, rather than leave the world to bow beneath the yoke imposed on it. He issued his Milan decree, by which those vessels, that paid the tribute imposed by England, are declared denationalized. The Americans, threatened with finding themselves anew subject to the

yoke of England, and losing their independence so gloriously acquired, laid a general embargo on all their vessels, and renounced all navigation and all trade: thus sacrificing the interest of the moment to what is the interest of all times, the preservation of their independence.

"The success of these great measures depended more especially on their execution in Holland. Holland, on the contrary, was an obstacle to them; continuing to trade with England. All the representations of France on this subject have proved ineffectual. His imperial Majesty has been obliged to have recourse to rigorous measures, which attested his dissatisfaction. Twice have the French custom-houses been shut to the trade of the Dutch. They are so at this moment, so that Holland has no longer any legal communication with the people of the continent; and the Emperor is resolved not to re-open these barriers, as long as circumstances remain unchanged: in fact, it would be to open them to the trade of the English. The Dutch nation,

far

far from imitating the patriotism of the Americans, has appeared to be guided in all these circumstances solely by wretched mercantile interest.

"On the other hand, the Emperor sees Holland without the means of carrying on a war, and almost without resources for her own defence: she is without a navy: the sixteen vessels which she owed are dismounted: she is without energy. At the time of the late English expedition, the important town of Veere, which was without provision and without stores, made no resistance; and the important post of Batz, on which the success of so many events might depend, was evacuated six hours before the arrival of the enemy's scouts. Without an army, without custom-houses, we may almost say without friends, and without allies, the Dutch are an association of merchants, animated solely by the interest of their commerce, and forming a wealthy, useful, and respectable company, but not a nation.

"His imperial Majesty is desirous of peace with

with England. At Tilsit he took steps for this purpose, which were without effect; and those, which he concerted at Erfurt with his ally, the Emperor of Russia, had as little success. The war, therefore, will be long, since all attempts to effect a peace have proved useless. Even the proposal, to send commissioners to Morlaix, to treat of an exchange of prisoners, though suggested by England, remained without effect, when it was apprehended, that it might lead to an accommodation. England, in arrogating to herself universal sovereignty by her orders of November 1807, and in adopting the principle of a perpetual war, has broken every thing, and rendered legitimate every means of repelling her pretensions. If the change therefore, that has lately taken place in the English ministry, produce none in the principles of England, which will be easily known from the speeches that will be made in the new parliament; and if she continue to avow the principle of perpetual war, and of universal sovereignty, by maintaining her orders in council;

council; in this case the undersigned is authorised to declare to the Dutch ministry and nation, that the present situation of Holland is incompatible with the circumstances, in which the new principles adopted by England have placed the affairs of the empire, and of the continent. In consequence his imperial Majesty proposes to himself,

"1st. To *recall* to his court the prince of his family, whom he has placed on the throne of Holland. The first duty of a French prince, standing in the line of inheritance of the imperial throne, is owing to this throne. All other duties must give way, when they are in opposition to this. The first duties of every Frenchman, in whatever situation he may be placed by fate, are owing to his country.

"2dly. To cause all the outlets of Holland, and all its ports, to be occupied by French troops; as they were from the time of the conquest made by France in 1794, to the moment when his imperial Majesty hoped to conciliate

conciliate every thing by erecting the throne of Holland.

"3rdly. To employ every means, without being stopped by regard for any thing, to make Holland enter into the continental system, and once for all to snatch its ports and coasts out of the hands of that administration, which has rendered the ports of Holland the principal storehouses, and most of the Dutch merchants the promoters and agents, of the trade of England.

(Signed) "The DUKE OF CADORE."

"Paris, 24th January, 1810."

The period of the Emperor's marriage was approaching: the King was pressed in every way. The circle of Popilius, as it were, was drawn around him, when the pretended treaty of the 16th of March was presented to him to be ratified. This act, which was rather a capitulation, was imposed by the Emperor, signed by Verhuell, and ratified conditionally by the King, who added the words, "*as far as possible.*" The following is its tenor:

"1st.

"1st. Till the British government shall have solemnly renounced the measures comprised in its orders of council of 1807, all trade whatever between the ports of Holland and the ports of England is prohibited. If there be occasion to issue any licenses, such as are delivered in the Emperor's name shall alone be valid.

"2nd. A body of troops, consisting of 18,000 men, 3000 being cavalry, and composed of 6000 French and 12,000 Dutch, shall be posted at all the mouths of rivers, with French custom-house officers, to see that the preceding article is carried into execution.

"3rd. These troops shall be paid, victualled, and clothed by the Dutch government.

"4th. Every vessel infringing the first article, captured on the coasts of Holland by French ships of war or privateers, shall be declared lawful prize; and, in cases of doubt, the difficulty can be decided only by his Majesty the Emperor.

"5th. The provisions contained in the articles above shall be repealed, as soon as England

England shall have solemnly repealed her orders in council of 1807; and from that moment the French troops shall evacuate Holland, and leave it to the enjoyment of its integrity and independence.

"6th. It being a constitutional principle in France, that the banks* of the Rhine are the boundaries of the French empire; and the dockyards of Antwerp being laid open and exposed by the present situation of boundaries of the two states; his Majesty the King of Holland cedes to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c., *Dutch Brabant, the whole of Zealand* including the island of *Schowen*, that part of *Guelderland which is on the left bank of the Whaal*, so that the boundary between France and Holland shall be henceforth the *thalweg* from the fort of Schenken, leaving on the left Nimegen, Bommel, Worcum, then the principal

* *Thalweg*, in the original, a German word from *thal*, a valley, and *wag*, a way. The French, in the beginning of the revolution, were satisfied with the river for their boundary.—*Tr.*

branch

branch of the Merwede that falls into the Biesbach, which the boundary shall cross, also the Hollandsch-Diep and the Wolke Rak, proceeding to join the sea by the Bienengen or Gravelingen, leaving the island of Schowen on the left.

" 7th. Each of the provinces ceded by the foregoing article shall be exempt from all debts, that *have not been contracted for its own particular benefit, with the consent of its administration, and secured on its land.*

" 8th. His Majesty the King of Holland shall have in the roads a squadron of nine ships of the line, and six frigates, supplied with stores and provisions for six months, and ready to put to sea on the 1st of July next; and a flotilla of a hundred gunboats or other vessels of war. This force shall be kept constantly ready for service during the continuance of the war.

" 9th. The revenues of the ceded provinces shall belong to Holland till the day of exchanging the ratifications of the present treaty. The King of Holland must provide for

for all the expenses of their government up to the same period.

" 10th. All merchandize brought by American vessels, that have entered the ports of Holland since the 1st of January, 1809, shall be sequestrated, and belong to France, to be disposed of according to circumstances and her political relations with the United States.

" 11th. All merchandize of English manufacture is prohibited in Holland.

" 12th. Measures of police shall be taken, to watch and cause to be arrested insurers of contraband goods, smugglers, persons in connivance with them, &c. In short, the Dutch government shall engage, to put an end to smuggling.

" 13th. No warehouse for articles prohibited in France, and affording an opportunity for smuggling, can be established within a radius of four leagues from the line of French custom-houses; and, in case of infringing this, such a warehouse may be seized, though on the Dutch territories.

" 14th.

" 14th. In consideration of the foregoing provisions, and during the whole time of their being in force, his Majesty shall suspend the prohibitory decree, that shuts the barriers of the frontiers between Holland and France.

" 15th. Fully confiding in the manner, in which the engagements arising from the present treaty will be executed, his Majesty the Emperor and King guaranties the integrity of the Dutch possessions, as they are left in virtue of this treaty.

" 16th. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, in fifteen days, or sooner, if it can be done.

" Done at Paris this 16th day of March, 1810."

The writer here begs permission to take breath after such an act, and divert his attention for a moment from the affairs of Holland.

Sweden had concluded peace with France. It was signed on the 6th of January by the Duke of Cadore on the part of the latter, and by Baron d'Assen on the part of Sweden.

The

The latter adopted the continental system according to the established principles; and Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen were restored to it, with the exception of the donations made by the Emperor on the domains and revenues of the country, &c.

On the 7th of January the new Prince Royal of Sweden, Christian of Augustenburg, arrived in that country, and on the 24th of the same month he took the oath of fealty and obedience to King Charles XIII. with great pomp.

After the battle of Occana, the affairs of Spain had assumed a good aspect for the French. The Junta, seeing its affairs in a bad state, supplied the poverty of the treasury by seizing all the church plate, that was not indispensably necessary for public worship: it levied a forced loan of half the gold and silver articles in the possession of private persons: it imposed an extraordinary contribution on all classes of the state, and suppressed useless places as they became vacant: it opened a loan of six millions of dollars in

Spain,

Spain, and of forty millions in America: it imposed a tax on all carriages for pleasure or burden: it increased the army by 100,000 men, ordered the fabrication of 100,000 pikes and 100,000 poniards, &c.

The head-quarters of the French were to the middle of January at Carolina, on the frontiers of Andalusia. On the 20th of the same month they crossed the Sierra Morena, and dispersed the remains of the Spanish army defeated at Occana. The Junta of Seville retired to the Isle of Leon. Ceuta, an important town in Africa, was delivered to the English. Jaen and Cordova were occupied by the French. On the 24th of January King Joseph was at Andujar, and on the 27th at Cordova.

Grenada opened its gates to general Sebastiani. On the 1st of February King Joseph entered Seville at the head of the French. The eagles and flags taken from the corps of generals Dupont and Vedel in 1808 were restored to him. Malaga was seized on the 5th of February, after a pretty smart engagement, which

which was renewed within the town. Tarifa and Algesiras were occupied by Victor, and the head-quarters of King Joseph were removed to Xeres.

France.

At this period the Emperor revived the edict of Louis XIV. concerning the Gallican church. He published (in February) a decree on printing, that totally destroyed the liberty of the press. Every manuscript was to be sent to a director-general, who could alone permit or prohibit its being printed.

Rome, which had been declared a free and imperial city by the decree of the 17th of May of the preceding year, was definitively united to the empire. It was declared the chief town of the department of Rome, the second city of the empire, and gave title to the Imperial Prince, heir to the crown, who was styled King of Rome. The Pope might make it or Paris his residence, whichever he chose.

chose. The Emperor was to be crowned at Paris before the tenth year of his reign.

On the 6th of February Guadaloupe surrendered to the English; and general Ernouf, who commanded in that island, was sent to England.

On the 8th of February Prince Berthier left Paris, to go and demand the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria; on the 15th the convention of marriage was ratified; and on the 27th the Emperor communicated his determination to the senate by the following message:

"Senators; we have sent to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary, our cousin the Prince of Neufchâtel, to demand the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. We shall direct our minister of foreign affairs, to communicate to you the articles of the convention of marriage between us and the Archduchess

Maria Louisa, which has been concluded, signed, and ratified.

"We have been desirous of contributing eminently to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the continent have founded their prosperity on its dissentions, and tearing itself to pieces. They can no longer feed the flame of war, by feigning for us schemes incompatible with the ties and duties of relationship, that we have just contracted with the imperial reigning house of Austria.

"The shining qualities, that distinguish the Archduchess Maria Louisa, have gained her the affections of the people of Austria. They have fixed our regard. Our subjects will love this princess out of love to us, till, after witnessing all those virtues, that have placed her so high in our esteem, they love her for herself.

"Given at our Palace of the Tuileries, the 27th of February, 1810."

The

The Emperor had inclined at first to an alliance with Russia; but the latter refused it, after having almost given a promise. The Emperor then caused Austria and Saxony to be sounded, and the answers were favourable. The Emperor decided at once for the former house, for which he always had a kind of respect and regard, sentiments that displayed themselves in spite of himself, even in his hostile proceedings towards it. Though decided, the Emperor held a privy council on the choice of an empress. Prince Talleyrand, Prince Eugene, the Duke of Bassano, and the Duke of Vicenza, were for Austria: the King of Naples, the minister Fouché, and Cambacères, for Russia: Prince le Brun, Cardinal Fesch, the Duke de Feltre, and the King of Holland, for Saxony. The reasons of the latter were, that the Emperor and France had been too great enemies to Austria, to hope for a sincere reconciliation: he preferred Saxony to both the others; but Austria to Russia, on account of similarity of religion. In this council the King of Naples

argued strongly for Russia to the disadvantage of Austria; which the Emperor, in answering him, panegyrized with a warmth, eloquence, and success, that not only disclosed his sentiments and partiality for that house, but astonished the assembly extremely.

On the 5th of March the Prince of Neufchâtel, commissioned to demand the Archduchess Maria Louisa, made his public entry into Vienna. On the 8th he appeared at court in full ceremony; where, after approaching the Emperor's throne, he declared the purpose of his mission in a short harangue. The Emperor Francis sent for his daughter; she gave her consent, and received a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon. After that Prince Berthier waited on the Archduke Charles, and communicated to him the desire of the Emperor Napoleon, that he would act as his representative in the marriage ceremony. On the 11th of March the marriage was celebrated at Vienna, at 6 o'clock in the evening, in the church of the Augustines; and on the

13th

13th the Empress set out for Paris. At Braunau she was received by the Queen of Naples, who went as far as that city to meet her. She was feasted in all the capitals through which she passed. At Munich she was received by the King of Bavaria; at Augsburg, by the late Elector of Treves; at Stutgard, by the King and Queen of Wurtemberg, in the most sumptuous manner. On the 22d of March she arrived at Strasburg. The Emperor had repaired to Compiègne, where the Empress was to arrive. The day on which she was expected, the Emperor desired the King of Holland, to go and meet her. The latter complied, and went to Soissons: but, while he stopped in that city, the Emperor changed his opinion, set out from Compiègne in a calash, passed the King, met the Empress, and returned to the palace of Soissons, while his brother was still there.

In the evening of the 28th of March the Emperor re-entered Compiègne with the Empress, under a great number of triumphal arches.

arches. This event was signalized by acts of beneficence. The civil marriage took place at St. Cloud on the 1st of April, and the religious ceremony in the chapel of the Louvre the next day. The King was present at these ceremonies with the Kings and Princes then assembled at Paris.

On the 3rd of March the Emperor Napoleon had sent a message to the senate, by which Cardinal Fesch was no longer successor of the Prince Primate. The Viceroy of Italy was appointed to this place, with the title of Grand Duke of Frankfort. At the same time the King of Westphalia took possession of the Duchy of Hanover, agreeably to a convention signed the 14th of January with the Emperor.

Spain.

In spite of the advantages, which the French army had just obtained in Spain, new bodies of insurgents were formed. They drove

drove back the French as far as Ronda and the confines of the kingdom of Murcia. The siege of Cadiz commenced, but a violent storm nearly destroyed all the works that had been erected. This hurricane drove ashore on the coast four English seventy-four gun ships. The English landed near Tarifa, and made themselves masters of that place. Cadiz had then a garrison of twenty-two thousand men; among whom were five thousand English, two regiments of Portuguese, and the Spanish division, that occupied the island of Leon. General Graham commanded in the town, and Admiral Villaviciosa commanded the Spanish fleet. The French head-quarters, at the end of the month of March, were at Chiclana, near Cadiz.

On the 23rd of March the Emperor Napoleon issued the following decree against the commerce of the Americans.

" Whereas the government of the United States, by an act of the 1st of April, 1809, which

which prohibits all French vessels from entering the ports, havens, and rivers of the said States, orders, '1st, That from the 20th of May next ensuing, all vessels under the French flag, which shall put into the United States, shall be seized and confiscated; together with their cargoes. 2ndly, That after the same period, no merchandize or produce, coming from the soil or manufactories of France, or her colonies, can be imported into the United States, from any foreign place or harbour whatever, under penalty of seizure, and a fine of three times the value of the goods. 3rdly, That no American vessel shall sail to any part of France, her colonies, or dependencies:'

"We have decreed and decree as follows:

"Art. I. All vessels navigating under the American flag, or owned wholly or in part by any citizen subject of that power, which, reckoning from the 20th of May 1809, shall have entered, or shall enter into the ports of our empire, our colonies, or countries occupied

occupied by our armies, shall be seized, and the produce of the sale shall be paid into the sinking-fund.

"Art. II. Vessels which may be charged with despatches, or commissions from the government of the said States, and having no lading or merchandize on board, are exempted from this arrangement."

Holland.

On the 3rd of April Mr. van der Poll, burgomaster of Amsterdam, received his dismissal. Notwithstanding the reputation he had hitherto enjoyed, he had shown an extraordinary degree of complaisance for the ambassador la Rochefoucault; and had openly expressed his opinion, that Amsterdam ought not to be defended in any case, which was not true, and which at any rate it was as dangerous as impolitic to avow. At length the King left Paris on the 7th of April, after having had his last interview with the Emperor

ror on the 5th, in which he presented him with the grand decoration of the order of Union. This the Emperor accepted, but never afterwards wore.

On the 8th he arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 11th re-entered Amsterdam, where he immediately received the congratulations of the different bodies of the state. The following were the speeches delivered under these afflicting circumstances:

Speech of the Council of State.

"Sire, were I even the usual organ, through which the sentiments of the members of your council of state are expressed to your Majesty, still it would be impossible for me to depict the great anxiety and fears, that have so long agitated their minds; or the devotion, respect, and gratitude, with which their hearts have been unceasingly filled; or the lively joy, that animates them at this moment.

"Your

"Your return, sire, was the first and last of our prayers. You alone could console your subjects for the past, render the present supportable, and revive their hopes for the future.

"Blessed for ever be the moment, when we have the honour to approach your Majesty, and offer you our homages! Blessed be the day, which, if I may be allowed so to express myself, attaches anew to your government the greater part of your people and of your realm!

"It is true, sire, our country has suffered from divers events. But, thanks to your Majesty's cares, and to the ties that unite you to the grand empire of the French, the political existence of the Dutch people is not yet expunged from the catalogue of nations. They have preserved their laws, their manners, and their separate government, with all that is most dear to them. They retain the hope of seeing at some future day, their prosperity revived, their losses compensated, and their happiness established on solid foundations.

"Already

"Already the happy presages of the lasting repose of Europe meet our eyes in the festivals of reconciliation and marriage celebrated by the two imperial courts; in the approaching termination of the continental war; and in the combination of the strength and measures of all nations against that, which thinks alone to domineer over all seas.

"It is the sacred duty of all your subjects, sire, to concur in the success of so vast a plan. Our welfare depends on our sincere attachment to the common interest. May we soon behold peace so much desired! May your Majesty see your people happy! This, sire, they will be, if they have your Majesty for their King and Father for a long series of years."

Speech of the Legislative Body.

"Sire, when the return of your Majesty to your kingdom, so ardently desired by all your people, is a joyful moment to your faithful

ful subjects, can the Legislative Body, which has the honour of drawing so close round the sacred person of your Majesty, fail to hasten, sire, to give you unequivocal proofs of it? Yes, sire, the Legislative Body, the sentiments of which I have the honour this day to deliver, has directed me to express to your Majesty, at this solemn audience, the sincere part it takes in this happy event; and to renew at the same time to your Majesty its invariable sentiments of love, fidelity, and devotion to your august person. During the long space of time, that your Majesty has been obliged to remain absent from us, the intimate conviction, that your cares would always tend to promote the welfare of a people, who love your Majesty, who are at the same time beloved by you, sire, and to whose fate your Majesty has so generously deigned to unite your own, was alone capable of tranquillizing and consoling us.

"May divine Providence, to whom we render homage, and whose care for every thing that exists we respect, cast a propitious

eye

eye on the sacred person of your Majesty; and enable you to heal as far as possible the deep wounds, that have been inflicted in succession on our beloved country: and may it please Heaven, that, after having finished your important career on earth, and after a long and happy reign, the remembrance of the good your Majesty will have effected for the happiness of this country and people, will cause your memory, dear to the present generation, also to be blessed by our remotest posterity."

The King had no good answer to make, in the circumstances in which he was placed, and in consequence confined himself to vague and general terms. He had the misfortune to be continually watched by secret agents, ready to poison every word: and, though he had grief, I might even say despair in his heart, he was obliged carefully to conceal it, and to disguise the pains of his unfortunate situation, which he felt the more severely from being under the necessity of suppressing his sentiments. He answered, "that he found himself

himself among his friends with equal joy and surprise, after having been apprehensive of being separated from them for ever, at the time when the conditions imposed by France were ratified by him conditionally, &c."

After the divorce of her mother, the Queen repaired to Holland. She arrived at Utrecht on the 14th of April with the Prince Royal, who remained with his father, when, a few weeks after, his mother quitted Holland, to go and drink the waters at Plombieres.

That article of the treaty, by which all the coasts of Holland were to be occupied by French troops, was carried into execution. On the 20th of April the French took possession of the Hague and Leyden, and another corps was on its march for East Friesland, to station itself on the coast.

At this time there was an exchange of decorations between the courts of Prussia and of Holland. The King of Prussia sent to Baron de Knoblesdorff, his minister and envoy extraordinary at Amsterdam, three grand decorations

corations of the order of the Black Eagle, one for the King, one for the Prince Royal, and the other for whomever the King should think proper. The latter, on his part, sent three grand decorations to the King of Prussia, for the King, the Prince Royal, and Count de Goltz, minister of foreign affairs.

As a compensation to marshal Dumonceau, who had just lost this title, and at the same time to reward him for services he had rendered the state, the King bestowed on him the dignity of Count of the realm, under the title of Count de Bergerduin, the name of a village in North Holland, where the marshal had distinguished himself at the time of its being invaded by the English in 1799.

The head-quarters of the French army in Holland were established at Utrecht. The French general in chief received the command of the 12,000 Dutchmen, who were to join the French, to act with them in doing duty on the coast.

France.

An attempt was made to carry off the Prince of Asturias. On the 14th of April Baron de Kolli, an Irishman, went to the castle of Vallençay, to offer jewellery for sale to the Prince. He had with him credentials from George III. and the minister Wellesley; and made a proposal to the Prince to escape. English vessels were in waiting for him off Quiberon.

The Prince however gave information of the business to M. Berthimi, an officer of the staff appointed to attend him; and Baron de Kolli was arrested, and conveyed to Paris.

Spain.

On the 23rd of April the French took Astorga after a smart engagement, and made themselves masters of Murcia. The siege of Cadiz was going on successfully, the insurgents of Ronda had been dispersed, and Tarifa had just been retaken by the French. The

hero of Navarre, general Mina, was made prisoner, and marshal Suchet defeated the Spaniards near Lerida. This victory was followed by the capture of the town.

Holland.

On the 29th of April the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress arrived at Brussels, on their way towards the countries, that had lately been united to France. The King set off from Amsterdam on the 4th of May, accompanied by the grand marshal, and two aides-de-camp, in order to anticipate their visit. On the 5th he arrived at Antwerp; which place he quitted, as soon as he had seen the Emperor and Empress.

At this period Don de Teran de Negretta, the new Spanish minister to Holland, presented his credentials. The King exerted himself to equip as many vessels as possible. He fitted out 15 ships of war, and 100 gunboats. He divided his force into three squadrons; the first of which was put under the command of

marshal

marshal de Winter, and stationed off Helvoetsluis; one was stationed off the Texel, under the command of vice-admiral Lemmers; and the third, stationed before Amsterdam, was under the command of rear-admiral Verdooren.

On the 16th of May, the day fixed for thanksgiving and public prayer, the ambassador of France had a private audience, in which he delivered the official notification of the Emperor's marriage.

At the same time the services rendered Holland by its marshal, the aged and celebrated admiral Kinsbergen, and the bravery he had displayed in the action off the Doggersbank, were recompensed by conferring on him the title of Count de Doggersbank. Marshal Verhuell too was made Count de Sevenaar; Mr. Twent, minister of the watterstadt, Count de Rosemberg; and marshal Winter, Count de Huissen.

The commander Wickevorte Crommelin obtained his dismissal from the office of chancellor of the King's household: but the King

appointed him a chamberlain, as a testimony of his satisfaction with his conduct.

Singular steps were taken by the French commanding officer at Utrecht, to prevent trade with the English. They were as follows.

"It being his Majesty's intention, to prevent by all possible means the introduction of English merchandize; and other colonial produce into Holland, the generals and commandants are directed, to exert the most active vigilance on all parts of the coasts for the discovery of those who are smugglers by profession.

"Every individual who shall be convicted of having introduced any prohibited goods, or had any communication, direct or indirect, with the English, shall be sent to prison immediately, and tried by the commission established for this purpose.

"All the custom-house officers of a circle shall be at the disposal of the general, or superior officer, who has the command of that circle: he shall station them in whatever manner

manner he may deem proper, according to the knowledge he may have acquired of local circumstances, and of the disposition of the inhabitants. In fine, the general or superior officer shall consult with the commander of the Dutch troops in his circle, for placing a second line of detachments at such points, as may be suspected of having stores of contraband goods. The merchandize confiscated shall be placed in store, and an inventory of them taken. The distribution of them shall be made in conformity to the custom-house regulations.

" Vessels may proceed as far as Rotterdam, Leyden, Dordrecht, and other ports at a sufficient distance from the coast, without being examined. The custom-house officers in these places must be present, when these vessels are unloaded, in order to ascertain, that there are no colonial goods belonging to England, or obtained by trading with England, on board vessels arriving on the coast, or at the mouth of a river, and intended for a port in the interior.

" It

"It will be proper, to put on board these vessels a guard, and overseers of the customs, to proceed with them to the place of their destination; and thus prevent them from discharging by the way any merchandize, that they might wish to withdraw from examination."

These attempts at the usurpation of authority announced the system, that was intended to be followed with regard to Holland. The English expedition against Zealand, and afterwards the semblance of a treaty, the shadow of a right, if I may use the term, were made pretexts for introducing a large military force into the whole kingdom. Now that this force was master of Holland, and placed in the hands of the Emperor, the supreme power, he availed himself of the fact, to establish the right. This policy, though well known, was still very adroit, and very effectual. The reader may observe how carefully the title of Majesty alone is employed in this order, without explaining whether it refer to the King or to the Emperor, in order by this equi-

vocation

vocation the more easily to compel the Dutch to obey it, and to set them the more against their King; who, if he had been capable of issuing such irregular ordinances, would have acted arbitrarily, and unconstitutionally. By this may be judged what would have taken place, had the French once become masters of Amsterdam, if the King had been sottish enough to remain there a prisoner. He hastened to express his indignation against this foreign usurpation of authority, and destroyed its effect, by expressly directing the civil and judiciary authorities to pay no regard to it. He caused it to be published throughout the country, that no Dutchman should pay obedience to any other authority than that of the natural judges and magistrates; and he made the same declaration to the French military authorities, with equal frankness and firmness. He caused to be set at liberty those inhabitants of the coasts, who had been arbitrarily arrested by foreign soldiers. It was after this, that the French general made several attempts to draw him to

an

an interview between Amsterdam and Utrecht; a step, of which he suspected the design, and which he refused, giving the commander of the foreign troops to understand, that he would admit him at his own residence as often as he thought proper.

It was noticed in the *Gazette de France*, that the King of Holland, since his return from Paris, always signed *Louis Napoleon*, though previously he signed *Louis* simply. This remark was made maliciously; for, though the King had always signed *Louis*, all public papers were headed with the names *Louis Napoleon*. It may be said on this point, that the conduct of the brothers of the Emperor Napoleon was extremely difficult. In 1805, Louis, observing that two of his brothers added the name of Napoleon, took it likewise; and even once or twice signed *Napoleon Louis*, at the time of the campaign of Austerlitz against Austria, while he had the military command of Paris. But it was then remarked to him, that he had no right to assume this name without authority from the Emperor;

Emperor; an observation, which appeared to him just, and accordingly he ceased to use it. This name was afterwards given him in the official pieces relating to his accession, but the Emperor did not give it him. He thought therefore to reconcile matters by continuing to sign Louis simply, and confining himself to the assumption of the name of Napoleon as a title at the heads of his acts. During his vexatious residence at Paris, and the commencement of his catastrophe, as it may be called, as he was indirectly reproached with not signing Louis Napoleon, he hastened to do so; but this alteration was made a subject of remark. On this occasion he might well say with la Fontaine: "it is impossible to please all the world and his father." The Emperor should have told him plainly what he wished: but he frequently left people to follow their own notions, believing, that he should thus come at their secret sentiments the better. In this however he was sometimes mistaken: at least it happened so in respect to the King on the present occasion; for,

for, if he had been capable of becoming the enemy of his brother, if he wished to form the shadow of the picture in the brilliant history of his name, his life would have been neither so difficult, nor so painful: it was precisely because he endeavoured to reconcile what was irreconcilable, that he was so much harassed and so unhappy.

Notwithstanding all the King had suffered, the Emperor wrote to him the two letters following in the latter part of May.

"My brother; I received your letter of the 16th of May. In the situation in which we are, we should always speak with frankness. You know, that I have often read papers of yours, that were not intended to meet my eyes. I know your most secret inclinations; and all that you say inconsistent with them answers no purpose. You must not talk to me of your sentiments, of your infancy: experience has taught me what I have to depend upon in this respect. Holland is in an unpleasant situation; this is true. I can conceive, that you wish to extricate

yourself

yourself from it; but I am surprised that you address yourself to me for this purpose. It is not I, who can do any thing in the business: it is yourself, and yourself alone. When you conduct yourself so as to persuade the Dutch, *that you act agreeably to my suggestions;* that all your proceedings, all your sentiments accord with mine: you will be esteemed and beloved, and will acquire the stability necessary to restore Holland. This illusion still supports you a little. *The journey you took to Paris*, your return, and the Queen's, and other motives founded in reason, make your people think, that it is still possible for you, to revert to my system, and my way of thinking: but you alone can confirm these hopes, and eradicate even the least doubt of them. There is not one of your actions, which your fat Dutchmen do not weigh, as they would an affair of credit or commerce: they know therefore on what to depend. When being a friend of France and of me shall entitle a man to be your bosom friend, all Holland will perceive it, all Hol-

land

land will breathe freely, all Holland will find itself in a natural situation. This depends on yourself alone. Since your return you have done nothing of the kind. Do you wish to know what will be the result of your conduct? Your subjects, finding themselves bandied between France and England, not knowing what hope to entertain, what wishes to form, WILL THROW THEMSELVES INTO THE ARMS OF FRANCE, and loudly call for a union with it, as a refuge against so much uncertainty and caprice. Your government would be paternal; it is merely weak. In Brabant and Zealand I have found only the most inconsistent administration. Even in Zealand, where every thing is Dutch, the people are contented at finding themselves attached to a great country, and seeing themselves freed from a fluctuation, which was inconceivable to them. Do you think, that the letter you caused to be written to Mollerus, and the assurances you gave him of your affection, at the time when you displaced him, will give you any consequence in the country? Undeceive yourself:

yourself: every body knows, that without me there is no safety, without me there is no credit, without me you are nothing. If then the example you had before your eyes at Paris; if the knowledge of my character, which is to march straight to my object, without being stopped by any consideration, have not altered you; have not opened your eyes, what would you have me to do? Possessing the navigation of the Meuse and the Rhine to the mouths of these rivers, I can do without Holland; but Holland cannot do without my protection. If, subject to one of my brothers, looking up to me alone for its safety, it does not find in him my image; if, when you speak, it be not my voice that is heard, you destroy all confidence in your administration. You yourself break your own sceptre. Be assured, no person is deceived. Would you be in the path of sound policy? Love France, seek my glory: this is the only way to serve the King of Holland. Under a King the Dutch have lost the advantages of a free government:

vernment: you were then a harbour to them; but you have wantonly spoiled this harbour, you have strewed it with rocks.

"Do you know why you were the harbour of Holland? It is because you were the seal of an eternal compact with France, the bond of a community of interests with me: and Holland, BECOME THROUGH YOU A PART OF MY EMPIRE, was dear to me as a province, because I had given it a prince, whom I looked upon almost as a son. Had you been what you ought, I should have been as much interested for Holland as for France, I should have its prosperity as much at heart: and certainly in placing you on the throne of Holland, I thought I was placing there a French citizen, as much devoted to the greatness of France as myself, and as jealous of every thing concerning the mother country. Had you followed this plan in your conduct, you would now have been King of six millions of subjects. I should have considered the throne of Holland as a pedestal, on which I should have

have spread Hamburg, Osnabruck, and part of the north of Germany; for it would have been a nucleus of people, that would have broken still more the German spirit, which is the first object of my policy. Far from this, you have taken a course directly opposite; I have found myself obliged to forbid you France, and to seize on a part of your country.

"You do not say a word in your council, you do not entrust any one with a secret, that remains unknown, that does not turn against you and annihilate you; for in the minds of the Dutch you are to them but a Frenchman of four years standing; they see in you nothing but me, and the advantage of finding themselves sheltered from the subaltern agitators and plunderers, who have harassed them ever since the conquest. When you show yourself a bad Frenchman, you are less to them than a prince of Orange, to whose blood they stand indebted for the rank of their nation, and a long series of prosperity and

and glory. Holland is convinced, that your aversion to France has made them lose, what they would not have lost under a prince of Orange or a Schimmelpenninck. Be in the first place a Frenchman, and the brother of the Emperor, and rest assured you will be in the high road to the interests of Holland. But why do I say all this? The die is cast: you are incorrigible. Already you seek to expel the few Frenchmen left you: it is neither counsel, nor advice, nor affection, but threats and force, with which you should be treated. What mean these prayers, and these mysterious fasts, that you have ordained? Louis, you are resolved not to reign long; all your actions betray the sentiments of your heart more fully than your confidential letters. Listen to a man, who knows it better than yourself. Return from your false course; be indeed a Frenchman in your heart, or your people will expel you, and you will leave Holland a laughing-stock and an object of pity to the Dutch. It is by rea-

son

son and policy that states are governed, not by an acrid and depraved bile.

"Your affectionate brother,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"Ostend, May 20th, 1810."

Thus at length we have a frank confession of all, that it had been so painful during five years to suspect: we have here the motive of so many vexations and injustices explicitly avowed. After having read this letter, the King felt, that there was no longer any hope of a reconciliation: but he made every preparative, that at least his son might take his place. He could not now doubt, that the French government was resolved to have the King of Holland no longer; but he firmly believed, that it would have a King in a state of minority, who, according to the constitution, would be under the guardianship of France, as such a state of things left to Holland only hope and its name, while it gave to France every thing, that the Emperor passionately desired, sovereign rule and au-

thority over the Dutch. Accordingly he turned his eyes towards the men of distinction in France, to select one to whom he might entrust his son beforehand; in order that his son and the queen might have a sure guide and protector, if he should be compelled to abdicate the throne. To secure the Emperor's approbation, and be respected at the catastrophe, as well as to aid Holland in this case, a man of celebrity was requisite, a native of France, a man known and esteemed by the Emperor as well as in Holland, a liberal monarchist, a man of honour, probity, and unquestionable firmness of principle*: accordingly he fixed upon M. de Bonnald, whom he knew only by repute. M. de Bonnald appeared to unite all these qualities, except the liberal ideas indispensable in Holland. He wrote a letter to

* Is it possible, that Louis could have supposed, that a man of honour, probity, and firmness, could meet the approbation of Napoleon, who had just avowed to him the principle, that he would stick at nothing to gain his ends? *Tr.*

him,

him, in which he gave him to understand, that these ideas were the foundation of the proposal he made him, to undertake the education of his son. The King took every possible precaution for the safe delivery of his letter. It reached M. de Bonnald by the hands of a secretary, despatched to Rouergue for the purpose: but he refused the charge. No doubt M. de Bonnald understood the situation and design of the King, and probably upon the whole it did not suit him. It is useless to insert this letter here, as it was not effectual.

The affair next to be related gave occasion to another letter. The French minister had a Dutch coachman in his service. To find fresh pretexts for complaint, he charges him to excite disputes; and in fact on the 13th of May, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he had a quarrel with a citizen. The palace guard ran up and parted them. Presently the most violent and bitter complaints were made by the ambassador, that his livery had been insulted, and he demanded satisfaction.

From authentic testimony judicially taken it was ascertained, that the quarrel was a feint. The ambassador however insisted on the insult offered his livery: the coachman was summoned to give his evidence: but as soon as it was found, that the necessary measures were taking to confirm the truth, the coachman was sent off to France, though he was a Dutchman.

When the Emperor was informed of this affair, he wrote his brother the following letter.

" My brother; at the moment when you are making me the most specious protestations, I learn, that the people of my ambassador have been ill treated at Amsterdam. My intention is, that those persons, who have rendered themselves thus guilty towards me, shall be delivered into my hands, that the vengeance I shall take of them may serve as an example. The sieur Serrurier has given me an account of the manner in which you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audience.

dience*. I declare to you, then, that I will no longer have a Dutch ambassador at Paris. Admiral Verhuell has orders to depart within four and twenty hours. Set phrases and protestations will do for me no longer. It is time I should know, whether you have determined to be the curse of Holland, and to cause the ruin of that country by your folly. I will not have you send a minister to Austria; neither will I have you dismiss the Frenchmen, that are in your service. I have recalled my ambassador: henceforward I shall have only a *chargé d'affaires* in Holland. The sieur Serrurier, who remains there in this capacity, will communicate to you my intentions. I will not again expose an ambassador to your insults. As it is the Russian minister, whose master placed you on the

* At this audience, the King committed the fault of receiving the French chargé d'affaires rather coldly. He said but little to him, which was very natural, after all he had suffered, and all he had lost at Paris, whence he had just come.

throne,

throne, it is natural that you should follow his advice. Write me no more of your ordinary phrases: it is now three years that you have been repeating them to me, and every instant proves their falsehood.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"Lisle, May 23d, 1810."

"This is the last letter I shall write you as long as I live."

This furnishes demonstration, that the union of Holland had been determined on from the beginning, and that the King was still the victim of this policy.

By a decree of the 12th of May the Emperor suppressed all the religious orders in the kingdom of Italy. By another decree, issued at Bois-le-Duc, he offered a reward of a million of francs to the person, who should invent the best machine for spinning flax. He conferred the government of the Roman States on the minister of police, Fouché, who in fact set off for Rome, but did not take possession of his government.

On

On the 10th of June general Sarrazin, who commanded on the coasts of the channel, went over to the English.

At this period died Cardinal Caprara, Archbishop of Milan, who had been the pope's legate in France.

In Spain Mequinenza, an important fortress, surrendered to general Suchet on the 3rd of June.

The sieges of Cadiz and Ciudad Rodrigo were pushed with vigour.

Holland.

The equipment of the fleet went on with activity, notwithstanding the penury of the exchequer. In the beginning of June the French minister quitted Amsterdam, as the Emperor had threatened in his letter of the 23rd of May; and left his secretary of legation, M. Serrurier, as *chargé d'affaires.*

At this period the committee, appointed to ascertain the damages occasioned by the inundation

inundation last year, delivered in the result of their inquiries. The losses were estimated at 5,709,123 florins, or more than eleven millions of francs.

The countries, that France had taken from Holland, occasioned a diminution of eight members in the Legislative Body; four for Brabant, two for Zealand, and two for the districts of the Meuse, being dismissed.

The advocate Asser, a Jew, was appointed auditor of the council of state.

The 1st and 2nd accounts of the finances, namely those of 1807 and 1808, were presented to the King, after being approved by the Court of Accounts. The general accounts, nominal and complete, of all the voluntary gifts for Leyden and the inundations, were printed and published; that every person, being perfectly assured of the employment of his donation, might be encouraged to do the same on any future occasion.

The captain-general of the guards, Mr. Travers, was made Baron de Jever.

On the 15th the King gave an audience to the

the diplomatic corps, and on this occasion general Count de Lowenheilm, chamberlain and commander of the horse guards to the King of Sweden, and colonel Lowenheilm, his brother, were presented by the minister of foreign affairs.

Thus we have at length reached the period of the abdication, or, to speak more properly, the end of the catastrophe, which commenced at Paris a few months before. Since the return of the King, and the dismemberment of the kingdom, pretexts had been continually sought, to efface Holland completely from the list of nations. The same policy was constantly pursued: when Holland was declining, moderation was preserved; the moment it seemed to recover itself, and its government was taking beneficial measures, it was attacked in every possible way. Every day the King was assailed with fresh pretensions.

On the 1st of June some French custom-house officers fixed themselves near Amsterdam, to enforce the laws of the blockade. They attempted several times to settle in Amsterdam,

sterdam, or on the borders of the Zuiderzee; but they were always expelled, because it was contrary to the treaty.

Some persons, that had been arrested in the Dutch territories, in contempt of the laws of the country and of the treaty, were set at liberty by the King. The complaints and accusations of France were redoubled: it was asserted in the French newspapers, that some English prisoners, landed near Heppens, had deposed, that English merchandize was landed on the coasts of Holland without any difficulty, before they were occupied by the French.

The capital however was blockaded by the French troops, the number of which increased daily at Utrecht. About the middle of June information was received, that the French head quarters would be removed to Rotterdam, and that a line of custom-house officers, supported by troops, was approaching the capital. The King strenuously demanded a candid explanation of this from the French *chargé d'affaires*, M. Serrurier. The following

is

is the answer he gave to Mr. Roell, the minister of foreign affairs, on the 16th of June.

"Sir, you desire me to transmit to you officially, what I had the honour to communicate to you yesterday verbally. I have the honour then to repeat to your excellency, that, on reports having reached his Majesty the Emperor and King, that the intention of placing a garrison in Amsterdam was attributed to him, his Majesty has directed me to disavow such a design, and to declare, that he has no thought of occupying the capital: but at the same time he has directed me to notify, that if the least warlike preparations were made in Holland, these preparations could only be considered as an insult to France; and in this case I have eventual orders, to demand my passports, and quit Holland: in short, that any hostile attitude, or any thing derogatory to the dignity of France, would be considered by his Majesty as a declaration of war. His Majesty farther orders me, strenuously to insist on due reparation

paration for the affront put upon his ambassador; to declare, that nothing less than complete satisfaction will be sufficient for him; that he expects it to be entire; and that without this the King of Holland must for ever renounce the protection of his friendship, &c."

This was the manner in which the ineradicable attachment of the King to France, and to his name, was abused: he was made to drain the cup of bitterness to the dregs: it was evidently resolved, to force him to declare against France, and to join her enemies, the only resource now left him.

The following arrangements were made by the minister of justice and police.

"Whereas all the steps, to discover the person or persons, who were guilty of a serious insult, according to an official communication from the French legation, to one of the domestics in his Excellency the ambassador's livery, in the vicinity of the New Church, on the 13th of May this year, about two o'clock in the forenoon, have been hitherto completely

pletely fruitless: and as there can be no doubt, that every insult to persons forming part of a foreign mission is so much the more culpable, because it may not only endanger the public tranquillity of the place where it is committed, like any other, but may also be considered as an offence to the power, to whose legation those persons belong, and hence be farther followed by the most disagreeable consequences:

"For these reasons the minister of justice and police, specially authorized thereto by the King, offers a reward of a thousand ducatoons to any one, who shall make known the perpetrator or perpetrators of the act abovementioned, so that they may be delivered into the hands of justice, and convicted of the crime. The name of the informer shall be kept secret, if he desire it.

"The minister abovementioned farther makes known, by express order of the King, his Majesty's great dissatisfaction and indignation at what has taken place; sentiments the more profound, as he sets the greatest value

on

on the friendship and benevolence of his august brother, and consequently on every thing that may be disagreeable to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

"The minister at the same time seizes this occasion, to warn and exhort every one from doing, or saying, the least thing, that can offend any person belonging to a foreign mission, under pain of being punished, according to the exigency of the case, with all the rigour of the laws.

"Amsterdam, the 17th of June, 1810."

The King continued to watch over the administration of domestic affairs, though he saw his last crisis approaching nearer every day. Bills were issued for six millions of florins, secured by anticipation of different indirect taxes. These bills served to answer the quarterly payment of pensions, and other allowances, that would become due at the end of the month.

He granted a privilege for fifteen years to Andrew Niters, a smith, who had invented an

an axletree, that might be lengthened or shortened at pleasure.

He appointed Mr. A. de Dedem minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples; Count J. C. Bylandt to that of Cassel; and Baron de Spaen de Voorstonden ambassador to Munich.

On the 26th of June the minister of maritime affairs and the colonies made the following report.

"Sire, I hasten to report to your Majesty, that letters received from North America, dated in the beginning of May last, contain news of commodore Buiskens, aide-de-camp of your Majesty, the veracity and accuracy of which may be depended upon. Your Majesty knows, that this distinguished officer, having been appointed in the year 1807 to furnish the island of Java with various articles wanting there, and to carry out fresh instructions respecting the government of that colony, executed his commission with much more celerity, and far more completely, than the circumstances

circumstances of the maritime war gave reason to expect. During the two years he remained at Java, he rendered the most important services as lieutenant-governor, and assisted the governor-general Dandels in a manner at once honourable and efficacious. At length, recalled by your Majesty, he embarked on board a small vessel, as well armed as was practicable, to protect himself from the pirates, that infest the Indian seas. His voyage was very fortunate, till he reached the latitude of the Bermudas islands; when he fell in with an English sloop of war, the Thistle. Though of inferior force, he fought his ship for four hours; and did not strike till all his ammunition was expended.

"Commodore Buiskens was among the number of the wounded; yet, though pretty severely, I have the satisfaction to inform your Majesty, that it is probable you will not lose an aide-de-camp, or the royal navy an officer, who has always distinguished himself, not less by his skill, than by his bravery.

"Amsterdam, June 26th, 1820."

Forbearance

Forbearance was no longer possible. The laws, orders, uniform, cockade, and flag of the Dutch, were disregarded and insulted by the French military authorities. The navy, the people, the army, were exasperated to the highest pitch . . . . Every thing was ready for a desperate defence, and the conflagration waited only the first spark.

Far from seeking to prevent it, the French seemed to do every thing to hasten the combustion. On the 29th of June they insisted anew on occupying Amsterdam, and establishing their head-quarters in this city, in spite of the assurance to the contrary given by M. Serrurier on the 16th, as has just been seen. The King was then at Haarlem, on the right of the line of defence of Amsterdam, whence he could direct the military operations on the side of North Holland and the Lake of Haarlem, and keep up his communication with the Helder.

He had his son with him: his indignation was at the height: he resolved to defend Amsterdam to the last extremity, to give the

Frenchmen in his service leave to withdraw or remain, to put on the order of the Legion of Honour, and call the nation to arms. Under these serious circumstances, when he stood so much in need of support, and of men to be depended upon, Roell would positively quit him, under pretence of going to the baths, and he had the weakness to consent to it. Marshal Verhuell, who had returned from Paris under some frivolous pretence, and whom the King wished to send thither with a final message, retired to his estate in Guelderland: but the army, the navy, and the nation were unanimous; particularly admiral Lemmers, and the minister Krayenhoff, to whom the King, on his return to Holland, had communicated the charge of the watterstadt. At the same moment he received a summons from the Emperor, to restore to his place as burgomaster of Amsterdam, Mr. van de Poll, whom the King had displaced, as has been seen.

Meantime he attempted one final measure, that of sending to Paris Mr. Valkenaer, a man

man of great dexterity, intelligence, and activity, with full powers to ward off the completion of the invasion of Holland.

Of the troops, and of the people, he was sure: but he wished to know the sentiments of their leaders. What was his astonishment, on seeing at this very moment the arrival of marshals Dumonceau and de Winter, who very respectfully but strongly represented to him the inutility of the defence of Amsterdam, and the short time it could continue. He contented himself with answering, that he thought he might have depended upon them; and that it was not the part of a soldier, and a marshal, to testify such an opinion. The rest, particularly the royal guards, general de Millet, a Swiss, colonel Behr, the brave general Sels, &c., were very decisive in favour of their country, and their duty.

From his house at Haarlem he beheld the vast city of Amsterdam seated on a shoal between two seas; and that to defend it, it was necessary, to sink it entirely. By him stood his son, whose secure and smiling looks,

while his father was so much agitated, seemed to disapprove a useless defence.

"I shall fall with glory," he said to himself: "but on the other hand nothing will remain of my ephemeral sovereignty; and my son, who may one day raise up Holland, and realize my plans for its advantage, will at once lose all, with so many thousands of families, who are at this moment in perfect tranquillity, ignorant of the storm that threatens them, and relying entirely on him, whose duty it is to watch over them."

He felt however that the motto of his order, *Do what you ought, happen what may*, pointed out to him his duty. He convened his ministers; and, to his great astonishment, all gave their opinions against a defence. Mr. Reuvens even wished the King to remain at Amsterdam after it was occupied by the French, and, to use the term, under their general. "This is enough;" said the King: "this determines me. I will drive the Emperor to the wall, and compel him, to avow in the face of France and of all Europe the secret

secret of his policy towards Holland, and towards myself, for these five years. I put my son into my place. If all the complaints he has made against me and my government be true, he will acknowledge my son; who will leave it in his power to do every thing he pleases with regard to commerce and to England, since by the constitution of the kingdom the regency belongs to him of right.

"If, on the contrary, he avail himself of my abdication to seize upon Holland, it will incontestably prove in the eyes of every Frenchman, that all the accusations were merely attempts to pick a quarrel: that this was the point at which he drove: and at least neither the right of conquest, nor a cession, nor any submission whatever, will afford the least shadow of legality to this usurpation of Holland; and I shall no longer have to fear, that use may be made of my name, to seize it with some appearance of right." Then, leaving his ministers to deliberate together, he added: "One part alone is preferable, that of defending ourselves to the last extremity.

tremity. Give me your opinion upon it: I leave you alone, that you may deliberate freely."

After sitting a long time, they brought him their resolution, which was an approval of his abdicating in favour of his two children. He drew up with his own hand a message to the Legislative Body, which the minister van der Capellen transcribed, the King's hand-writing not being very legible: but the message was couched in strong and violent terms; it was a history of all the grievances of Holland, calculated to enlighten both the nation and France respecting the injustice, to which the King was a victim; but at the same time to exasperate the Emperor, and lead him to disregard the rights of the young King. He drew up another therefore immediately, as well as the two pieces that follow it.

The message:—"Gentlemen, I commission the ministers assembled in council, to present to your assembly the resolution, to which I find myself driven by the military occupation of my capital. The brave soldiers

diers of France have no other enemies than those, who are enemies to the common cause, to Holland, and to me. It is proper therefore, that they should be received with all possible favour and regard. But it is not the less true, that, in the present state of Holland, when a whole army, a multitude of custom-house officers, and the national army itself taken out of the hands of the government, and thus every thing, in fact, except the capital, were under the command of a foreign officer; it was my duty, to declare to the French commander, and to the Emperor's *chargé d'affaires*, that, if the capital and the district round it were occupied, I should consider this proceeding as a manifest infringement of the law of nations, and of the rights held most sacred among mankind. This induced me to refuse the custom-house officers an entrance into Muiden, Naarden, and Diemen; which I had a right to do, for the treaty authorizes the presence of custom-house officers only on the borders of the sea, and at the mouths of rivers.

"On

"On the 16th of June I received an assurance from the *chargé d'affaires* of his Majesty the Emperor, that it was not his intention, to occupy Amsterdam. A copy of this you will find annexed; and it led me to hope, that the French would return to the strict observation of a treaty imposed by his Majesty the Emperor himself, and not overstep it.

"Unhappily I was not left long under this mistake, and received information, that twenty thousand French troops were assembling at Utrecht and in its environs. I consented, notwithstanding the extreme poverty and embarrassment of our finances, to supply them with provision and other necessaries, though the treaty declares, that there shall be no more than precisely six thousand at the expense of Holland: but I was apprehensive, that this collecting of troops indicated other designs inimical to our government, and was not long in finding it so; for the day before yesterday, the 29th, I received official information, that his Majesty the Emperor insisted

insisted on the occupation of Amsterdam, and the establishment of the French head-quarters in that capital.

"In this situation, gentlemen, you cannot doubt, that I would have suffered fresh humiliations for the sake of my people with resignation, if I could have conceived the hope of supporting such a state of things, and especially of preventing farther calamities, but I could not retain the illusion any longer. I had ratified conditionally the treaty dictated by France, from a conviction, that the parts most disagreeable to the nation and myself would not be followed; and that, satisfied with this renunciation of myself, as I may say, every thing would be made smooth between France and Holland. It is true this treaty affords a number of pretexts for new grievances, and fresh accusations: but would a pretext ever be wanting? I could not therefore but confide in the explanations and communications made to me at the time of framing the treaty, and in the formal and precise declarations, which I could not myself fail

of

of making: such as, that the custom-house officers should not interfere in any measures but those relating to the blockade; that the French troops should remain wholly on the coast; that the domains of the creditors of the state, and those of the crown, should be respected; that the debts of the ceded countries should devolve upon France; in fine, that the troops at present in Spain at the disposal of France should be deducted from the number to be furnished, and sufficient time allowed for the preparation of the maritime force.

"I even still flattered myself, that the treaty would have been softened. I was mistaken: and if the absolute devotion to my duties, that I displayed on the first of April last, have served only to drag on or lengthen the existence of the country for three months, I have the cruel and painful satisfaction, the only one however that I can have, of having fulfilled my task to the end; of having sacrificed, if I may be allowed so to say, to the existence and what I believed the welfare

welfare of this country, more than it was allowable to do.

" But after the submission and resignation of the 1st of April, I should be too blamable, were I capable of retaining the name of King, when no longer any thing more than an instrument; having no authority, not in the country merely, but not even in my capital, and perhaps soon not even in my own palace. Yet I should witness every thing that was done, without being able to effect any thing for my people. Responsible for all events, without being able to prevent or even influence them, I should be the butt of complaints on both sides, and the apparent cause of all calamities; I should betray my conscience, my people, and my duty, in doing so.

" It is long since I foresaw the extremity, to which I am now reduced: but I could not avoid it, without betraying the most sacred of my obligations, without ceasing to pursue the interests of this country, and making its fate mine: I could not do it . . . .

" Now that Holland is reduced to this condition,

dition, as King of Holland there is but one path I can pursue, that of abdicating in favour of my children. Any other course would but have augmented the misfortunes of my reign. I would have fulfilled this painful duty in the midst of affliction; I would have braved the spectacle of the ruin of so many people, too often the victims of the quarrels of governments: but how could I support the idea of any kind of resistance by force of arms? Could I have endured the sight of the blood of Frenchmen flowing for my children, born Frenchmen like myself, and in a cause that was just, yet that might have been thought purely mine?

"I have therefore but one part left. My brother, strongly exasperated against me, is not so against my children; and assuredly he will not destroy his own work, and deprive them of their inheritance, since he has not and never can have cause of complaint against a child, who cannot for a long time reign in his own person. His mother, to whom the regency pertains by the constitution, will do every

every thing that may be agreeable to the Emperor my brother, and will be more successful in this than I, who unhappily could never succeed in it: and when a maritime peace shall take place, perhaps before, my brother, knowing the state of things in this country, the esteem its inhabitants merit, how much their welfare accords with the interests of his empire properly understood, will do for this nation all, that it has a right to expect from the numerous sacrifices it has made for France, from its loyalty, and from the regard with which it cannot fail to inspire those, who judge of it without prejudice.

"And who knows? perhaps I alone am an obstacle to the reconciliation of this country with France; and if this be so, I should have, I might find, some sort of consolation, in dragging on the remainder of a life of wandering and languishment, far from the first objects of all my affection.

"This good people and my son constitute a great portion of my motives: there are

others

others not less imperious, on which I must be silent, and which will easily be guessed." (*The impossibility of an effectual resistance.*)

"The Emperor my brother must feel, that I cannot act otherwise. Though strongly prejudiced against me, he is magnanimous: he must be just, when he is cool.

"As to you, gentlemen, I should be much more unhappy, if possible, could I imagine, that you did not do justice to my intentions.

"May the end of my career prove to you and the nation, that I have never deceived you; that I have no other aim than the interests of this country; and that the faults committed by me arose entirely from my zeal, which led me to desire, not what was good merely, but the best possible, notwithstanding the difficulty of circumstances.

"I had never prepared myself to govern a nation so interesting, but so difficult as yours. Deign, gentlemen, to be my advocate with it; and to place confidence, and have some attachment for the Prince Royal, who will

deserve

deserve this, if I may judge from his happy disposition. The Queen has the same interests as myself.

"I ought not to conclude without most urgently recommending to you, for the sake of the interests and existence of so many families, and so many individuals, whose lives and property would infallibly be endangered, to receive and treat all the French, with the respect and friendly reception, due to the brave men of the first nation in the world, your friends and allies, obedience to whom is the first duty, but who cannot but love and esteem a brave, industrious, and in every respect estimable nation, in proportion as they become acquainted with it.

"Wherever my life shall close, the name of Holland, and my most ardent prayers for its happiness, will be my last words, and occupy my last thoughts.

"Haarlem, July the 1st, 1810."

The following is the act of abdication:

"Considering, that the unhappy situation of

of the kingdom results from the Emperor my brother's being indisposed towards me; considering, that all the endeavours and sacrifices I could possibly make have been useless, to effect a cessation of this state of things; considering, in fine, that the cause of it is indubitably the misfortune, under which I labour, of displeasing my brother, and having lost his friendship; and that I am in consequence the real obstacle to the termination of these continual disputes, and misunderstandings; we have resolved, as we resolve by this present patent and solemn act voluntarily issued, to abdicate, as we abdicate at this instant, the regal dignity and rank of this kingdom of Holland, in favour of our well beloved son Napoleon Louis, and, in failure of him, in favour of his brother, Charles Louis Napoleon. We will moreover, that, conformably to the constitution under the guarantee of his Majesty the Emperor our brother, the regency remain with her Majesty the Queen, assisted by a council of regency, which shall be composed provisionally of our ministers,

to

to whom we entrust the guardianship of the young King, till the arrival of her Majesty the Queen.

"We farther ordain, that the different corps of our guards, under the superior orders of our grand equerry and lieutenant-general Bruno, and under him of general Sels, continue to do duty about the person of the young King of this realm; and that the great officers of the crown, as well as the civil and military officers of our household, continue their duties also about him. Done under our hand and seal this present act, which shall be made known to the Legislative Body, in whose care it shall remain deposited; they giving the necessary copies of it, and causing it to be published authentically in the proper forms.

"Haarlem, this 1st of July, 1810."

This act was accompanied by the ensuing proclamation:

"Dutchmen! deeply convinced, that it is

not in my power, to do any thing more for your interests, or for your welfare; believing myself, on the contrary, an obstacle to the return of my brother's favourable sentiments towards this country, I have just abdicated in favour of my eldest son the Prince Royal, Napoleon Louis, and of his brother Prince Charles Louis Napoleon. Her Majesty the Queen is regent of right by the constitution; and, till she arrives, the regency is confided to the council of ministers.

"Dutchmen! never shall I forget a people good and virtuous like you. My last thought, and my last sigh, will be for your happiness. On quitting you, I cannot too strongly recommend to you, to give the soldiers and agents of France a good reception; as the best means of pleasing the Emperor, on whom your fate, your children's, and your country's entirely depend.

"Now that malevolence and calumny can no longer reach me, at least with respect to you, I have just reason to hope, that you will at length reap the reward of all your sacrifices,

fices, and of your courageous perseverance and resignation.

"Done at Haarlem, July the 1st, 1810."

The next day, agreeably to the King's orders, the minister of the interior announced to the inhabitants of Amsterdam, that the French would enter it on the 4th of July. The following is the notice he published:

"The minister of the interior, by virtue of a special order from his Majesty, makes known by these presents to the inhabitants of the capital, that the imperial French troops will arrive in this city on the 4th of this month.

"As it is the will and intention manifested by his Majesty, that you exert yourselves in every way to give a good reception to the troops of his august brother, he has reason to expect, that every one will contribute to it on his part, and feel it to be his duty, to receive and treat these brave troops with that

distinction, and those testimonies of friendship, that are due to friends and allies, and especially to the armies of the Emperor Napoleon. The discipline for which these troops are distinguished, as much as for their other military virtues, is a pledge to the inhabitants of the capital for the safety of their persons and possessions; but at the same time it renders these troops assured, that they will be received by one and all as friends and allies. All the inhabitants will feel how important it is to the whole of our country in general, and to this good capital in particular, that the salutary intentions of the King be scrupulously fulfilled.

"His Majesty is in consequence persuaded, that the inhabitants of the capital, thoroughly penetrated with a sense of their duty, will contribute on their parts, with all imaginable zeal, to what the interests of the capital, and of the whole realm, so imperiously demand: while every one would have to reproach himself for the prejudicial consequences, that, contrary

contrary to all expectation, would result from an opposite conduct.

"Amsterdam, the 2nd of July, 1810."

The Legislative Body assembled immediately after the departure of the King, who quitted Haarlem on the 1st of July at night, and took the Austrian road, proceeding to the baths of Toeplitz in Bohemia. The ministers, under the presidency of van der Hem, formed themselves into a council of regency, and carried to the Legislative Body the last message of the King, quoted above. The young Prince Royal was acknowledged by this assembly. He received at Haarlem the regency, and the deputation from the Legislative Body and the council of state, that went to pay their respects to him, and answered them with sensibility.

The King communicated to the Emperor Napoleon the step he had taken at Haarlem on the 1st of July, in cold, but not offensive terms; and appointed his aide-de-camp, general

general Vichery, to carry the despatch to Paris.

A circular addressed to the several courts of Europe made known to them the motives and conditions of the abdication. The counsellor of state Elout, agreeably to the directions of the King previous to his departure, was despatched to Plombières, to the Queen. The minister Janssens was sent to the Emperor. All the necessary steps and precautions were taken, to induce the latter to respect the young King; but all in vain; and the Emperor sent an aide-de-camp for the minor, to whom he assigned a dwelling in a pavilion in the park of St. Cloud with his brother, and a few days after his arrival made him the following speech:

"Come hither, my son; I will be your father; you will lose nothing by it.

"The conduct of your father grieves me to the heart: his disorder alone can account for it. When you are grown up, you will pay

pay his debt and your own. Never forget, in whatever situation my policy and the interest of my empire may place you, that your duty is owing first to me, and in the next place to France. All your other duties, even those towards the people, that I may entrust to your care, come after."

Such principles required no answer. As to what he said of the King's health, such an assertion was as unjust as cruel: though it was in fact a great piece of folly in those times to renounce a crown, rather than be the compulsory instrument of evil.

On the 1st of July the King was at Haarlem, and had already taken the resolution to abdicate; when he found on a sudden the two French regiments return to Haarlem, that had been at the Helder. They wanted to be quartered in Haarlem, but at length contented themselves with being stationed in the neighbouring villages. He saw plainly from the motive assigned by the commander of these troops, that of returning to the Hague,

Hague, that this was only a pretext, and that it was a military disposition made by the French general, since he had found the King at Haarlem with the body of his guards. But the business was decided; and he saw all this now without astonishment, though with indignation. He had to fear, that he should be arrested, and prevented from withdrawing himself from the Emperor, which in some sort would have furnished a plausible pretext for not acknowledging the Prince Royal: for "how can this be done, the King being alive and present?" would infallibly have been said with some appearance of reason. Besides, if the King had been in their hands, they would have had the means of disavowing the abdication, and every act he might afterwards have done: for how could he prevent force from publishing what it pleased, however false? how could he refute any calumnies? It was not easy to escape the French agents, who were on their guard; however, he succeeded.

In the night of the 1st of July he set out with

with general Travers, Baron de Jever, captain of his guards, and admiral Bloys van Treslong, his aide-de-camp. He had selected these two, as the persons in whom he could place most confidence. He was in a plain travelling carriage; and made such haste, that he was at the baths of Toeplitz in Bohemia, before the French authorities on the road he took were informed of his departure.

He was joined on the 3rd at Osnabruck by Mr. de Kalichef, counsellor of the Russian legation at Amsterdam, whom Prince Dolgorouki had sent to Petersburg with news of the event. The King availed himself of this, to acquaint the Emperor Alexander, at that time a great friend and ally of the Emperor Napoleon, with the motives of his abdication, and the place of his retreat.

Before his departure, he sold the small estate he had at Ameliswerd, near Utrecht. He left with his son the revenues of the month of June, to supply the first demands of the regency. His aide-de-camp carried with him only ten thousand florins in gold,

to

to defray the expenses of the journey, and his diamond decorations. He arrived at Toeplitz on the 9th of July.

At Osnabruck he received a courier, who brought him his first and only despatch from Valkenaer on the issue of his mission to Paris, the contents of which were by no means favourable.

Determined to retire to a neutral country, there were only America, Switzerland, and Austria, between which he had to choose. Russia was too cold; Prussia and the Confederation of the Rhine, too dependent. For while it was part of his plan, not to take part with the enemies of his country or his family, or to reside in the territories of an enemy, it was equally important for him, not to live under the immediate influence of a power, that had compelled him to abandon his throne and country, and might have made use of his presence, to authorise in some sort the invasion

sion of Holland, or at least prevent him from issuing any protest, when the possibility of it might occur. His residing under the authority of the French government would have been a kind of tacit consent, as his voluntary banishment from France was a standing protest. There was another consideration also, which is too fully justified by modern politics; that no proclamations, authorising the invasion of Holland, should be invented, and published in his presence, and in his name.

America was best suited to him: but by removing from Europe he would render it impossible for him to avail himself of any circumstance, that events might bring about, for enabling him to return to Holland; he ran the risk also of being taken by the English, which he wished at any rate to avoid; and besides, the influence of France was then greater than ever in America. For this same reason he gave up Switzerland. He arrived at Toeplitz on the 9th of July. Since his abdication he had taken the title of Count de St. Leu, a small estate that he possessed near Paris.

Paris. He had taken this title before when travelling; and by this he clearly showed that he had no intention of renouncing France. Had his son been acknowledged by the Emperor, he would have returned to France, as soon as his brother's passion and unjust anger were appeased, to live with him as a private individual: but, if the Emperor made use of this great occasion to seize upon Holland, it was necessary for him to resolve to remain in Austria, till an opportunity should occur enabling him to reside at Rome, the climate of which was necessary for his health, and its sovereign, the Pope, was the natural refuge of all Christian princes.

Such was his plan on his arrival at Toeplitz. His first step was to write to the Emperor Francis, and solicit his permission, to reside in his dominions. He wrote likewise to Count Otto, the French minister at Vienna, and Baron Bourgoing, minister at Dresden, that his intentions might not be misinterpreted: he declared, that he came to that country, that he might be out of the power of the Emperor Napoleon,

Napoleon, but not as his enemy. The French ministers at Vienna and Dresden pressed him in vain, to quit foreign countries. The Emperor Francis gave him every possible assurance respecting his abode.

At length the Emperor seized upon Holland. It is useless to insert the documents relative to this usurpation; which are as erroneous in the principles they lay down, as in their calculations. He learned this news towards the end of July. His surprise and indignation were extreme. The protest he issued at Toeplitz on the 1st of August, as soon as he was acquainted with the official pieces, will be found in the supplement, No. 2.

This declaration was afterwards delivered to the Emperor of Austria by the King himself at Bruck, on the 24th of July, 1811; and to the Emperor of Russia by the Russian colonel de Thuil, who was at Gratz in February, 1812. Colonel de Thuil, a Dutchman by birth, had long been in the service of Russia, and was employed in the legation of that empire at Vienna. He was brother to auditor

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de Thuil, who has been mentioned above, and brother-in-law of the minister van der Capellen, who was at Gratz with the King in 1812. Colonel de Thuil came from Vienna, to spend a few days at Gratz with his sister, Mrs. van der Capellen.

People are not sufficiently attentive beforehand to what they may stand in need of, when unforeseen distresses and misfortunes arise: or, at least, when the crisis occurs, we no longer think our former precautions sufficient, and take others altogether new, which are frequently not the best, because they have not been sufficiently digested, and we have neither been so impartial, nor so calm, as we ought, in adopting them. It is with this as with the laws of society, and precautions against times of extraordinary troubles or calamities; they are useless, till the crisis arrives, and, when it does take place, it is seldom that they prove sufficient, and that we do not have recourse to others perfectly distinct.

The King had about him a number of men of honour, loyal, and to be depended on: yet

at the moment of his abdication he pitched upon two persons to accompany him, by whom he was deserted.

He left his grand marshal Roest van Alkemaade, fearing, that, if he deranged any thing in the order and service of the royal household, it would be an additional pretext for disregarding the young King. He did not select his aide-de-camp general Krayenhoff, for whom he felt esteem and regard; or his aide-de-camp Charles de Bylandt; or colonel Trip, his equerry; or auditor de Thuil; or the first chamberlain, van Pallandt, whom he had particularly distinguished; or Tindal, colonel of his grenadiers; or the colonel of his Hussar guards, van Hasselt, a young man of great honour, and much attached to him. He thought to do better, and did worse.

Travers, to whom he had given the barony of Jevers, whom he had promoted from the rank of lieutenant to that of lieutenant-colonel in his old regiment, the 5th of dragoons, and whom he had afterwards made a lieutenant-general, captain of the guards, &c., became

came insufferable in exile, from his opinions, manners, and discourse; and got himself employed in France, while professing sentiments totally opposite. He finished with quitting the King.

Admiral Bloys, though attached to him, loyal, and brave, yielded at last to the pressing solicitations of his wife, and abandoned him also. Thus he found himself alone in a foreign country, without family, at variance with the government of his brother, and exposed to the suspicions and enmity of those, who were hostile to France and the Emperor. One consideration alone can justify the persons by whom he was deserted: it is, that they were the dupes of secret intrigues, contrived for the purpose of reducing him to a state of solitariness, by which it was hoped he would be driven to return to France.

On a sudden the chevalier des Cazes, counsellor in the Court of Justice at Paris, formerly his private secretary, and at that time secretary of his mother's commands, came to Toeplitz, for the purpose of doing every thing

thing possible, to induce him to return to France: but he could gain nothing. The King left Toeplitz for Gratz in Styria, to which place he resolved to proceed, because it was then the southernmost part of the Austrian dominions. He could have wished to go to Rome or Naples: but Rome was no longer independent, and Naples was under the influence he dreaded. M. des Cazes accompanied him to Gratz, and returned to Paris, after renewing his endeavours to the last moment.

On the 7th the King wrote the following letter to Mr. Twent, his late intendant-general:

"Receive nothing on my account of what pertains to the crown, or to the civil list. The whole of this belongs to my son alone, and to the regency, and was ceded by my abdication. But take care of my private affairs, in order to answer to me for them, as they belong to myself only. They consist of the property acquired during my reign, that has not been united to the domains of the crown by the deed of purchase, and particu-

larly the pavilion at Haarlem, which I purchased of the house of Hope in 1808, through the intervention of the counsellor of state Voute, a friend of that house. If you have received or claimed any thing else, relinquish it without delay."

On the road to Gratz the Prince of Orange, who was also proceeding to that place, where the Emperor of Austria then was, came up with the King and passed him in the night. This occasioned him to turn out of his course, and pass through Judemberg to Marburg; and thence he went to Gratz, when the Emperor of Austria had left the place to return to Vienna.

Between Bruck and Judemburg M. Lablanche, secretary to the French ambassador, also overtook him, and brought him a summons from the ambassador Otto, to repair to France. He refused to see M. Lablanche, who followed him however to Marburg, and caused an answer to be delivered to him for the ambassador, which was a mere acknowledgment of the receipt of the packet.

Count

Count Otto thought proper to write two letters, one confidential, full of sounding phrases and common place terms: the other, which is subjoined, was a real summons, little adapted to persuade, and productive of as little effect.

" Vienna, October the 12th, 1810.

" Sire; the Emperor has ordered me, to write to your Majesty in the following terms:

" It is the duty of every French prince, and of every member of the imperial family, to reside in France; and he cannot absent himself from it without the Emperor's permission. After the union of Holland to the empire, the Emperor suffered the King to reside at Toeplitz, as his health appeared to him, to render the waters necessary. But now the Emperor expects, that Prince Louis, as a French Prince and grand dignitary of the empire, will be in France by the 1st of December next at farthest, under pain of being considered as disobedient to the constitutions.

of the empire, and to the head of his family, and treated accordingly.

"I execute verbatim, sire, the commission, entrusted to me; and I send the first secretary of the embassy, in order to be assured, that this letter has been punctually delivered.

"I entreat your Majesty to accept the homage of my profound respect.

"The ambassador of France to the court of Vienna.

(Signed) "OTTO."

Soon after his arrival at Gratz, he received a fresh invitation to return to France through the medium of M. des Cazes, who took the journey a second time to no purpose.

The King had been scarcely two months at Gratz, when fresh public acts evinced how much reason he had to withdraw his reputation and person from public calumny. A decree of the senate was made public, tending to blacken him in the eyes of the Dutch.

This proceeding the King learned with indignation;

dignation; and sent to the senate triplicates of a protest (See Supplement, No. 3), which he conveyed to Prince Cambacères, to the minister Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, secretary of state to the imperial family, and to Count Garnier, president of the senate.

The same day he forbade the Queen to accept any appanage, and ceded to her, for her maintenance, all he possessed, his hotel at Paris, his estate at St. Leu, &c. (See Supplement, No. 4.)

The Queen however could not obey the King's wishes; and as the president of the senate, the minister Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, and Prince Cambacères, would not make known his protests, the King imparted them to Count de Bissengen, governor of Gratz, and sent duplicates of them sealed to his late notary, Bont, at Amsterdam, to preserve them, and make them known at his death, or whenever he might require it on any other occasion.

If we look on the events of this world separately, and confine ourselves to their mundane

dane limits, we are tempted to believe, that chance, men, and fatality, do every thing, and direct every thing: but when we raise our eyes higher, when we connect the past with the present, when we think on the little, very little causes of the greatest events, the blindness of the greatest minds, their degradation, their faults, their inconsistencies, we see clearly, that no man here below does all he wishes, or all he thinks he does; each obeys a superior influence in spite of himself; and Providence does nothing for the sake of an individual, of a particular nation, or of a particular party, but to accomplish its own purposes, known only to itself. The only influence we can have is that of acting a part in this grand performance, more or less excellently, according to the state of our intellect, or of our moral perfection . . . . . Two years elapsed . . . . . In June 1812 the Emperor attacked Russia: while desiring a general peace, he sought a fresh source of war and disasters. He said, when he crossed the frontiers of Poland, speaking of the destruction

of

of the Russian empire: "the destinies are fulfilling:" and it was to the destruction of his own, that he was led by his victories! Let the reader call to mind on this occasion the answer that the Delphian oracle made to Crœsus.

He thought he acted with great policy, in refusing to restore the kingdom of Poland lest he should offend Austria: and thus he lost the sole basis he could possibly have for his operations in attacking Russia, and by means of which only he could succeed.

This attack could be justified only by the restoration of Poland, and the irruption of the Polanders into Russia. The extravagant system of the blockade was gigantic and impracticable; yet the Emperor persisted in ruining his allies, and ruining himself, rather than confess himself to have committed an error. The best means of repairing an error is not, to persist in it, and positively maintain it not to be a fault; but rather to alter our course promptly, as soon as we perceive, that we are proceeding wrong. It would be a

mistake

mistake to look for the chief cause of the misfortunes of the Emperor Nepoleon anywhere but in the system termed continental: it was this idea, mathematically true, but impossible to carry into execution; it was the extreme immorality of the blockade, and its consequences, that were the causes of the rising of nations, and the disasters of France.

Morality, politics, and religion, are inseparable, or at least ought to be so. A proof of this is, the nearer they approach to perfection, the more they resemble each other.

While Louis resided at Gratz, the Emperor of Austria made a tour in the neighbourhood. This was in the month of July, 1811. He went to see him at Bruck; and it was at this interview, that he delivered to him his protest of the 1st of August, 1810, as has been mentioned.

He led a very retired life at Gratz, endeavouring to re-establish his health. He waited impatiently for the so much desired period of a general peace, that he might go to Rome, that he might implore the assistance of the

august

august head of his religion, on the score of his marriage, and be enabled afterwards to retire to St. Leu; where he hoped to terminate his career, where in 1804 he had deposited the ashes of his father, and where a place had ever since been prepared for himself. Paris and St. Leu he loved beyond all expression, and considered as the places of his birth.

But Heaven ordered it otherwise; and willed, that the man perhaps least in the world framed for solitude and celibacy; the man most French, most peaceable, least a cosmopolite; was obliged to live alone, and in a wandering state, and accused of loving neither tranquillity nor France. May this work convince both his countrymen and the Dutch of the injustice of these reproaches.

The Emperor Napoleon, however, drove back the Russians beyond the frontiers of Poland: Wilna and Smolensko were occupied: he passed the frontiers of Russia, crossed the Borysthenes, and approached the ancient capital of his enemy. The Russians did not cease their flight, till the French army

reached

reached the banks of the Moskwa, a small river flowing near the capital, which they resolved to defend. They were unable to resist the valour of the French troops: the battle was extremely bloody, but victory declared for the Emperor Napoleon. He entered Moscow at the head of his victorious army on the 7th of September; and thought to pass the winter under cover in that capital: but the moment he made his entry, the Russian government set fire to the city. It was entirely consumed, and with it all the resources of the French army.

The Emperor persisted however in remaining some time amid the smoking ruins of the town, in hopes of concluding a peace: he would not appear to retire, or to retract his words; this made him too eagerly seek a peace, and thus he failed of obtaining it. Negotiations indeed were opened: probably to deceive him, and occasion him to be surprised by winter. On a sudden these negotiations were broken off; the Russians attacked the French cavalry under the command

mand of general Sebastiani, who relied on the faith of these negotiations; and he was in consequence beaten. Provision failed every day more and more; and, winter approaching, the Emperor at length saw that no other step was left for him, but to quit this country. In consequence he gave orders to his army to return to Poland. But it was too late. The roads were a desert, for the Russians had burnt every thing, and the most severe frost set in. The soldiers were destitute of provision, and of pelisses to protect them from the cold: thus the greater part perished in the snow, or were made prisoners. What a frightful spectacle this of an army always hitherto victorious! Whole regiments and battalions sunk down benumbed with cold, and never rose again. The Russian army however, and particularly the Cossacks, foreseeing this disaster, had continued to follow the French army, came up with it, and a terrible carnage ensued. The French, unable to resist the elements conspiring against them, at length

gave

gave way, and the army was destroyed. Of 300,000 men, that entered Russia, only 30,000 returned to Poland. All the stores of the army fell into the hands of the Russians, or remained buried in the snow. At Wilna the wreck of the French army was attacked by the inhabitants, and even by the Jews; and in the month of January, 1813, the French and their allies had entirely quitted Poland. The Emperor left the army under the command of the King of Naples; who soon after resigned it to the viceroy of Italy, to return to Naples: thus sacrificing to the private interests of his kingdom and himself the general interest of the allies of France, and above all his own fame, and the preservation of the valuable remains of this illustrious army.

The King was afflicted at the misfortunes of his country; and on the 1st of January, 1813, wrote a letter on the subject to the Emperor Napoleon. (See Supplement, No. 5.)

After having written the letter of the 1st of January, the King was desirous that the Emperor

Emperor of Austria, in whose dominions he resided, and who knew, that the French ambassador had received a packet from him, should be informed of his motives for this step; and not suppose, that he had changed his way of thinking, or his conduct, which he himself was sensible he never could do.

Accordingly he requested the Count of Bissingen, governor of the country, to acquaint the Emperor with this step; which he had taken, because all his duties, and all the feelings of his heart, prompted him to it under those circumstances; a step he thought incumbent on him, though he entertained no hopes from it.

A few days afterwards, the governor came to thank him on the part of the Emperor for the communication he had made to him. The King wrote a long explanatory letter to the Emperor Francis, which it would be superfluous to copy in this work, already of sufficient length.

In the month of June, 1813, he went to the baths of the Neuhaus, near Gratz. In the month of

of July he returned; and on the 8th he determined to take some steps in behalf of Holland, at Prague, where the opening of a congress under the mediation of Austria was announced. As these steps produced no effect, it would be useless to transcribe the letters; which were only a repetition of the protest, and all that he had said, or could say, respecting how much it was for the interest of all parties, that Holland should remain independent and neutral.

The King gathered from the answers returned him by the Austrian cabinet, that war was more than probable; and that, in case of a peace, the fate of Holland would depend on France.

The Emperor of Austria had the goodness to invite him to reside in his empire wherever he pleased, be the event what it might; but he could not endure the idea, that he should be supposed by the French to be with the enemies of his country. As the prodigious preparations of Austria indicated, that war was imminent, he resolved, therefore,

fore, to quit the country. The armistice was prolonged to the 10th of August, but the negotiations had not yet commenced on the 24th of July. It was then the King heard of the brilliant success of the English in Spain: the enemy was already on the Pyrenean frontier. It was impossible for him to conceal from himself, that the crisis was grown alarming for France, since she would have on her hands near a million of men with the Austrians, exclusive of the Spaniards and English. He then thought, that it was incumbent on him to draw near to France and his brother; that the time had arrived, which gave them an opportunity of doing something for him, and him of devoting himself to the service of France, and of the house on which the fate of Holland and his children depended. Accordingly, he renounced the idea of retiring to Turkey, Bosnia, or even Naples; resisted all the offers made him, to induce him to remain in Austria, and set out for Switzerland.

On his arrival at Ischel, on the frontier of Bavaria,

Bavaria, he wrote a letter to his brother (See Supplement, No. 6), which he sent to him by the hands of the ambassador, M. Mercier d'Argenteau, as he passed through Munich.

He arrived at St. Gall in Switzerland, visited Appenzell, and afterwards the baths of Schinznach. After finding all his endeavours vain, he patiently awaited in Switzerland the course of events, not without lively fears for France and his brother.

The Emperor recovered from his disasters with astonishing promptitude; while the remains of the grand army performed prodigies of valour, disputing the ground inch by inch, and maintaining their reputation in Germany with a good countenance under the orders of the viceroy, who may boast of having had a task of the utmost difficulty and magnitude to fulfil, and of having executed it with no less prudence and glory than success.

Scarcely had the King arrived in Switzerland before the war was rekindled. The Emperor would not have peace: others perhaps were not more desirous of it. Already attempts

tempts were made, to produce a defection of the allies of France, and prepare the downfall of the Emperor.

Yet with what astonishment, and what feelings of admiration for the French army, must we contemplate its good countenance and its valour, even after such great disasters! Good amid victory and prosperity, proud in adversity, and always faithful to the calls of honour, in spite of every effort and means of seduction, the French would have secured the happiness and glory of their country for ever, if the Emperor had not stirred up and irritated all Europe against him; or, even in this case, if he had been more distrustful of some hundred traitors, and in the last resort had placed more confidence in the nation, whom he summoned too late to arms.

The battle of Leipsic was fought on the 18th of October, 1813; it was followed by the defection of all Germany. It is a whimsical spectacle, to see petty powers begging from great ones in succession an independence, which they exercise only by divesting themselves

selves of it. When Providence transfers power from one great nation to another, we see the weaker states immediately abandoning their allies, to follow the course of fortune: they are compelled to yield to the torrent, often in spite of their inclination, and to the detriment of their real interests; yet they fancy themselves acting freely and honourably! This spectacle, disgraceful to human nature, to the progress of society, to the science of politics, has unhappily been too often renewed in our days.

Three truths at least seem to be proved amid our continual agitations and massacres of the last five and twenty years:

1st. Governments are instituted for the welfare and improvement of individuals, who ought to be submissive to the law, and equal in its eyes.

2nd. Petty states are not really independent, and cannot flatter themselves with becoming so.

3rd. To aim at the best is certainly detrimental to what is good: in other words,

countries

countries, that have a tolerable government, do wrong to seek a better*.

In consequence of the battle of Leipsic, the King of Naples came to Switzerland. He passed through Basil while his brother-in-law was there, and they had an interview. The King of Naples was returning home, to endeavour to save himself, if the existence of the French government should be endangered. He advised his brother-in-law to return to Holland by the assistance of the allies. The latter answered, this he would never do; because Holland would not be permitted to remain perfectly neutral, and no throne in the world would bribe him to make war against his country. "If France prove successful," added he, "what reproaches should I not deserve, for having drawn on the kingdom its hostility and vengeance! If she prove unsuccessful, the allies in the end will give the preference to the Prince of Orange."

However, after the departure of the King

* We have an old proverb exactly to this purpose: "Let well enough alone:" but then the question remains; *Is* the present state of things *well enough? Tr.*

of Naples, he reflected maturely on the singular situation in which he stood. He felt clearly, that it was a favourable moment, to attempt a return to Holland; and that the French government could not do better, than renounce a country slipping through its fingers, and establish in it a French dynasty. He despatched an officer of his guards to Mentz, with orders to await the Emperor there, and deliver to him a letter, in which he endeavoured to persuade his brother, to lose no time in adopting the only step, that remained for France to take at that moment, with regard to Holland.

As he could entertain no doubt, that a country about to fall into the hands of the allies would be yielded up to him with pleasure, and that it was important, to lose no time; he resolved to proceed immediately to Amsterdam, if the French government gave its consent, and would permit the Dutch then at Paris to accompany him. Accordingly he proceeded towards this capital, after having written to the Empress Regent, and to Prince Cambacères; but was much astonished

nished to find, on his reaching Pont sur Seine, a refusal to receive him at Paris. He returned to Switzerland therefore, where he was informed of the Emperor's answer by letters from Prince Berthier, Duke of Vicenza, and by what the Emperor said to the officer, who had been sent to him. Both these exactly agreed. "*I had rather,*" said the Emperor, "that Holland should return into the power of the house of Orange, than into that of my brother. If he have a hundred thousand men to oppose to me, he may endeavour to take it from me, &c."

Though such was the fate of the author of this work at that time, public opinion however appeared favourable to him. As a proof of this he may quote the periodical works published at that period in Germany. (See Supplement, No 7.)

He learned however, that Holland had risen against France, that it was abandoned by the French troops, and that the magistrates of Amsterdam were executing the functions of a central provisional government of the country.

In

In the month of October, 1813, several persons proposed to him, to repair to Holland, and induce the nation to declare in his favour; but he refused. "I cannot return thither," he answered "unless called by the nation. It suits neither my disposition nor the good of Holland, that I should reenter the country by means of war and commotions. I must confine myself to making it known to the Dutch, that my attachment to the country is still the same: all the rest is their business."

He accordingly made another attempt, and sent a letter to the provisional administration, as well as to a few friends. (See Supplement, No. 8.)

The answers he received from Amsterdam fully confirmed the account of the events in Holland, the total renunciation that had been made of him, and the establishment of the house of Orange.

After the ill success of this step, and the establishment of the Prince of Orange, he deemed himself emancipated from all his duties towards Holland, and resolved to return home. He wished to retire to St. Leu

for

for the remainder of his life; and hoped to be permitted, to dwell there in peace. He was endeavouring to obtain some certainty on this point, when the allies violated the territory of Switzerland, and approached Soleure, where he then was. He answered Count Augustus de Talleyrand, the French minister in Switzerland, who had written to inform him of the entrance of the allies into that country, that he might be assured he would not remain with them, particularly as he depended upon being at length allowed, to live quietly at home.

Before his departure he made a declaration, which the newspapers of the country would not insert. He supplied this deficiency however, by making it known to several persons, and leaving copies of it in their hands. Among these were the young Mollerus, his late auditor, who was accidentally in Switzerland; Mr. de Montolieu, so justly celebrated for his writings and his affability, and M. de Crouzat, an inhabitant of Lausanne, equally distinguished for his talents and character. This declaration,

declaration, dated the 22nd of December, was nearly the same with the letter written to the magistrates of Amsterdam. Its object was to announce, that he returned to France only because the restoration of the Prince of Orange released him from all ties with regard to Holland. He quitted Switzerland therefore, passed through Lyons, and arrived at Paris on the 1st of January, 1814, in the morning.

He alighted at his mother's. He could not see the Emperor till ten days after his arrival. Orders to remove to the distance of forty leagues from Paris were hinted to him. The Prince of Neufchatel, and the Duke of Vicenza, came to him formally to renew to him these orders, which he refused to obey, because no one had a right to prevent him from dwelling in his own house.

At length on the 10th of January he saw the Emperor through the mediation of the Empress. They approached each other coolly, without embracing. It would be difficult to form an idea of what Louis inwardly felt at seeing

seeing again a brother, to whom his infancy was so much indebted, but of whom he had so many reasons to complain, since his life and future prospects had been sacrificed to worldly illusions and politics. He requested his brother to avoid every thing relating to Holland in their conversation; as he had promised himself to leave that country totally out of consideration, during his abode in France. "If victory," he added, "should place it in your hands, I claim only permission, to withdraw from France, where I will not remain should it invade Holland a second time. If, on the contrary, victory should forsake your standards, all question concerning it naturally falls to the ground; and it will be sufficient to say no more about it."

The following is the letter in the Emperor's own hand writing, to which his brother refused obedience:

"Brother, I have received your two letters, and am grieved to find, that you have arrived at Paris without my permission. You are no longer

longer King of Holland, since you have renounced the title, and I have united that country to France: you must think no more of it. The territories of the empire are invaded, and I have all Europe in arms against me. If you come as a French prince, as constable of the empire, to take your station round the throne, I will receive you, you will be my subject: in this capacity you will enjoy my friendship, and do what you can for the success of affairs. You must then have for me, for the King of Rome, for the Empress, what you ought to have. If, on the contrary, you persist in your notions of King and Dutchman, remove to the distance of forty leagues from Paris . . . . . I will have no mixed situation, no third part. If you accept my offer, write me such a letter as I can cause to be printed, &c."

The King was ardently desirous of being employed, of being useful to France at this critical moment, without receiving rank, appanage, or title; as these would have been at variance with his declaration at Lausanne, would

would have prevented his returning from France, if victory should restore Holland to it, and in this case would have been a tacit assent to the reunion; but he bitterly felt, how much three years of solitude and vexation had injured his health in exile, and in the cold climate of Styria. In vain did he endeavour to sit on horseback; he could not even remain standing any time: while in Holland he could pass whole days on horseback or on foot on the dikes. Perhaps it was for this reason, that it was reported, that it was particularly wished he should accept titles, appanages, &c.

He remained at Paris during the months of January, February, and till the 30th of March, when he attended the Empress to Blois; whom he strenuously urged to remain at Paris, notwithstanding the entrance of the allies; but she durst not. The Emperor, in his instructions, declared all those traitors, who should remain at Paris, if it should be occupied by the enemy; and even all those who should counsel the Empress to do so.

It

It is possible however, if she had remained in the palace, her son would have been respected, would have been acknowledged, and thus peace really given to the world.

He saw the Emperor a second time on the 23rd of January, the eve of his departure for the army. The Emperor was resolved to make peace after the first victory; but he suffered himself afterwards to be drawn into a contrary system. The brother here spoken of did not cease to urge him, to accept a peace of any kind. He wrote to him almost daily; and particularly on the 3rd, 5th and 16th of March. In the last of these letters were the following remarkable words. "If your Majesty do not conclude a peace, rest assured, that your government has scarcely three weeks longer to exist. It requires only coolness, and a little good sense, to judge of the state of things at this moment." It was on the 16th of March, that he wrote these prophetic words, and on the 1st of April the revolution took place. But fortune is never more deceitful, than when she begins an extraordinary

traordinary prosperity: every thing succeeds, every thing answers the wishes of her favourites; the sails are filled, the sea and all the elements favourable and obedient to their desires: but wait the end of their course, and the evil is proportionate to the good; while the time lost by misfortune is regained by it. Every thing is duly balanced in this world and in the other.

The memorable events of the campaign of the allies in France are well known. It alone would be sufficient to immortalize the French army, notwithstanding its event. The allies entered Paris on the 31st of March. The King, pressed by the suspicion of treachery, followed the Empress, as soon as he was informed, that she was departed, and that Paris was about to admit the allies. He overtook the Empress at Rambouillet, whence he attended her to Blois, where he remained till the 9th of April, when the arrival of the Bourbons at Paris was made known there. Some Russian and Austrian officers came in quest of the Empress. The King took leave

of

of her and her son, and returned to Switzerland. He arrived at Lausanne on the 15th of April. He was informed before he left Blois, that he might remain in France; but this his duty opposed. Besides, he could never have remained there in peace.

When, on the eve of the Emperor's departure for Brienne, his brother saw him for the second and last time, he was astonished at his adventuring to send against the enemy cavalry just raised, and horses untrained. He saw in the court of the Tuileries battalions about to be reviewed previous to their departure, armed and accoutred, animated with great ardour, but not knowing how to carry a musket. They were ignorant of the first rudiments of handling their weapons. "What can they do in this state in face of an enemy?" asked Louis. "Bah! they are Frenchmen, they will fight and conquer:" answered the Emperor. He may be blamed, but not for being a bad Frenchman: on the contrary he was too much of one. He looked at nothing but the interest of France, the welfare

fare of France: and he would not only have every other interest vanish before this, but he required his allies to be of the same way of thinking, and their princes to share his extravagant patriotism, which was at once unjust, and impossible for him to obtain.

Soon after the King's return to Switzerland, the French government created the lands of St. Leu into a duchy, not only without the constent or participation of their owner, but even without his knowledge. At this news, and that of the treaty of Fontainbleau, of the 11th of April, he drew up a protest, which was published in the Arau newspaper on the 2nd of August, 1814. (See Supplement, No. 9.) He took every possible step to get his eldest son out of the hands of his mother; and for this reason he prolonged his stay at Switzerland to the month of September. But finding all his endeavours useless, he determined to retire to Rome. He had previously written to his Holiness on the 23rd of April, 1814; and received from Our Holy

Holy Father the following obliging and paternal answer:

"Sire,

"Your Majesty's letter has been forwarded to us from Rome, to which place we are returning; and we hasten to answer it, without waiting till we have finished our journey, though burdened with many and weighty affairs.

"In your letter you express a desire to come to Rome, if it should be agreeable to us. We can assure you, that we shall see you again in this city with pleasure, and the pleasure will be the greater, as we are aware of no obstacle, that can induce us to advise you to postpone your coming for the sake of your own tranquillity. Your Majesty, therefore, is at perfect liberty to come when you please; and we shall feel real satisfaction, that a son, who has ever evinced his religious principles and attachment, should reside in the capital of the Christian world. Meanwhile, as a pledge of our affection,

tion, we heartily give you the apostolical benediction.

(Signed) "PIUS, P. P. VII."

"Spolato; May the 22nd, 1814: in the 15th year of our pontificate."

His Holiness remembered, that, when the sufferings of the head of the church began, the King of Holland made him an offer of his services, and expressed his affection, devotion, and fidelity to him, through the medium of the prelate Ciamberlani, superior of the missions in Holland. In 1808 this dignitary had the charge of three despatches from the King.

Though these letters could not be delivered to his Holiness, then narrowly watched, they reached Savona however, and their arrival was known to our Holy Father.

The King arrived at Rome on the 24th of September, 1814. He then openly demanded the eldest of his children, whom their mother thought proper to refuse him: but as on his part he deemed it incumbent on him, to have

his son under his own eye, and considered this as an indispensable duty, he had recourse to the tribunals, which, after a long discussion, at length agreed, that he should be delivered into his hands. But this was on the 7th of March, 1815, and on the 20th, the Emperor Napoleon having reascended the throne, all the family statutes resumed their authority, so that every thing relative to the members of the imperial family depended again entirely on the will of the Emperor, who opposed the just desire of his brother.

After the second abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, his son was delivered to him by his mother, and since that time he has lived under the care of his father.

At this period Louis resisted all the urgent solicitations made him, and would not go either to his sister at Naples, or to Paris. His reasons may easily be conceived: he had no longer any public duties to fulfil, and he had need of tranquillity, after a life, spent, notwithstanding his efforts, amid difficulties, and the most painful disquietude, and with

declining.

a state of health that had long been slowly declining. Besides, the most profound respect towards established governments is not only the first social duty, and the distinguishing characteristic of men of worth, but the maxim most essential to the preservation, order, and quiet of society.

Conclusion.

We may conclude from what has been said, that Holland made prodigious exertions, during the five years in question.

That Louis endeavoured to be on the throne precisely what the Emperor Napoleon reproached him with not having been, the *medius terminus*, that was to reconcile the interests of Holland and France. (See the Letter from Trianon, December the 21st, 1809.)

He detested war, the advantage of which to beings in a merely preparatory state, and whose existence is so frail and uncertain, he could not comprehend. He had an insuper-

able disgust for the consequences of this cruel and senseless game, in which thousands of men, unknown to each other, often meet from the extremities of the earth, to cut one another's throats. If he were compelled to own, that a legitimate defence rendered it indispensable, still he did not consider war as a thing less hideous in itself. He was however himself a soldier to the age of twenty-seven; and was in several engagements and pitched battles. He displayed courage, ardour, and devotion to his duty: but he was never once a spectator of a field of battle, that his head and heart did not recoil at seeing so much bloodshed and wrecks of human beings. When he abdicated in 1810, it was neither from lassitude, nor from disgust, nor from weakness, nor from philosophy, but from reason, from duty, and particularly from attachment to the Dutch: forbearance and disregard of self, he carried perhaps to excess.

It is probable, that others in his situation would not have acted as he did in 1810; but they

they would have laid Holland under water, armed its inhabitants, and given the signal for the people to rise against France. He did not do it: he was not even willing that Holland should do it without him. He was of opinion, that, when a state, and the individuals who compose it, must infallibly perish by a desperate resistance, no other glory remains for its government, but the prevention of such a catastrophe, whatever it may cost.

Yet when he went to Haarlem a few days before his abdication, he was tempted to undertake a desperate defence, and to push it to the last extremity; to assume the insignia of the legion of honour alone; to leave the French in the service of Holland free to act as they chose; and, after the defence was brought to an issue, to retire boldly to France, at the risk of whatever might befal him. But, besides the grand consideration above-mentioned, there were two others, that induced him to alter his plan: 1st. Holland would lose for ever its name, its political existence, and

and every hope of regaining them: the first gun fired would give France the right of conquest. 2ndly, It was necessary to form an alliance with the enemies of France, which was equivalent to a submission to these very enemies: for, to make an alliance with a power stronger than yourself, to admit him into your country, and to acknowledge, that you cannot defend yourself without him, is nothing less than complete submission.

Nothing but an absolute neutrality, or a force capable of resisting all parties, could reconcile every thing.

The reader must have observed the following words in the message on the abdication: *there are other motives equally imperious, that are not to be mentioned, but they may easily be guessed*, &c. The meaning of this passage was, that there no longer remained any probability of defence. A few guns might have been fired for form's sake; but this would have been to confer on France the right of conquest,

conquest, merely for the pleasure of burning a little gunpowder to no purpose.

Louis, whether we consider him standing by the side of the imperial throne, wearing the crown of Holland, or in banishment, never experienced any thing but the disasters and inconveniences of his situation: without any inward compensation, without a friend, without society, without any support. Yet the most painful moments of his life, up to that of his second expatriation, after the 31st of March, 1814; an expatriation, the bitterness of which cannot be described, but may be conceived by every one, who has the heart of a Frenchman, and the bowels of a father; were all connected with Holland. The first, when he was obliged to enter into a capitulation at Paris in April, 1810, in order to obtain his liberty, and be enabled to return to Holland. The second, when he was obliged for the sake of the Dutch to quit the throne and his son, and withdraw an exile to a foreign land, recently that of an enemy. The third,

third, when lastly, returning to France in 1814, he met with Dutchmen, who, ignorant of his situation, might blame him for their being transplanted to a foreign country, while he in turn might complain of their not having defended his abdication, and the young king he had given them.

If Louis did not always effect the best that could possibly be done, at least this noble object was always his aim. His favourite motto was that of the order established in Holland in 1806: *Doe wel en zie niet om*, "Do what you ought, happen what may." But how difficult it often is, to act fully up to our duty! In the first place, it is necessary, and in this no small part of the difficulty lies, to know precisely what is our true duty: it is necessary too, not only to struggle against those direct obstacles, that oppose its accomplishment, but to remove all those indirect ones, that tend to conceal our path, or make us swerve from it: it is necessary, to combat our internal impulsions, or the passions, illu-

sions,

sions, and prejudices, that so frequently militate against our duties, and against our acting with moderation.

Be it as it may, Holland was supposed to be in a ruined condition in 1806, yet it found means of supporting itself. Every year brought on an extreme crisis: yet five times under his reign Holland triumphed under similar dangers.

Finally, when in 1810 force attacked the nation in its last entrenchment, he had sufficient coolness, foresight, and devotion, so to regulate affairs, that, in spite of an irresistible force, the country preserved its rights untouched. It was to the detriment of Louis, it is true; but to the detriment of him alone. As he had foreseen, Holland recovered its liberty at the first favourable moment that occurred in 1813. In this last event he was unconcerned; and he could have wished, that the Dutch nation at this period had published a few words in approbation of his government: but he did not the less rejoice from the bottom

tom of his heart at the happiness of Holland. What matters it who is the author of the good, that he could have wished himself to confer on the country, since his desires are at length realized? He can never feel indifferent towards a people, that was the sole object of his cares during the best part of his existence, and whose happiness will assuredly be the most ardent wish of his whole life.

SUPPLEMENT.

No. 1.

THE following are the works that were begun, continued, or ended:

1st. The draining of ten thousand acres at Niewkoop and Sevenhuisen, near Amsterdam, begun in 1800, and continued with activity, notwithstanding the critical situation of the country.

1807.

2nd. The canal of Katwyk, and the two sluices towards the sea, finished notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the treasury. This work had been commenced in 1804.

1806.

3rd. Raising the dike of reserve (Slapperdyk) facing the sea, near Amsterdam.

1807,

1807, 1808, 1809.

4th. The dike near the town of Edam, that defends North Holland against the sea, for the length of 364 Flemish ells.

1808.

5th. The road paved with bricks from the Hague to Haarlem and Leyden.

1808, 1809.

6th. The road paved with bricks from Utrecht to Loo, a distance of fourteen leagues, made in two years.

1808.

7th. In Zealand the great extent of ground inundated by the sea in 1808, as well as the large village of Kruiningen, and a number of fine farms, were drained, forming the polder, named by the Zealanders Lodewyks Polder in honour of the King.

1808, 1809.

8th. The raising of all the dikes of the island of Zealand, a work accomplished in two years.

1808,

1808, 1809.

9th. Raising the dikes of Groningen, and substituting large stones for the timber employed to defend them against the violence of the waves.

1808.

10th. The alluvial lands of the island of Rosemburg, and in 1809 those of Overflackee, were embanked.

1809.

11th. The communication opened between the lake of Haarlem and the city of Amsterdam by the grand sluice of Overtoom.

1809.

12th. The disasters occasioned by the inundation of 1809 near Gorcum were repaired, and a new dike of considerable magnitude constructed.

1810.

13th. To prevent the terrible inundations that threaten Holland, when the rivers are frozen,

frozen, the King ordered part of the dikes of the Rhine, at the commencement of the river Yssel, to be lowered, in order to cause the waters of the river to discharge themselves upon the land along the banks of the Yssel; that this stream, which disembogues itself into the Zuyderzee, might convey to it the floods of the Rhine, and thus prevent the river from overflowing lower down, and ruining the province of Holland. Whether the works, that had been commenced, have been continued, I do not know.

1810.

14th. The embankment of some alluvial land in Zealand, which unites the islands of Zuidbeveland, Wolphaarsdyk, and Oostbeveland.

1810.

15th. A canal through the high peatmosses, passing over a considerable extent of ground from the town of Hasselt, in Over-Yssel, into the interior of the country.

16th.

1810.

16th. A canal and sluice constructed between the town of Zwol and the Yssel.

1810.

17th. The canal of Steenenhoek, ordered by the King, near the town of Gorcum.

1810.

18th. The grand sea sluice at Muiden completely rebuilt, after shutting out the water from it.

1810.

19th. A law for the better management of the dikes and works, and for paying the expenses relating to them. It directs, that every circle of dikes should have a general board of directors, to see that all the local bodies did their duty.

WORKS

to be done in Holland, the plans of which have been drawn up and examined by the King.

1st. Plan for causing the winter floods of the rivers Meuse and Whaal to traverse the country of Altena, and be conveyed between two dikes into the sea called the Biesbosch, and preserve the centre of Holland.

2nd. A grand canal, to commence at the Rhine near Ameronge, traversing the department of Utrecht to the vicinity of Naarden, and going thence to Amsterdam. The difference of level between the waters of the river at the first sluice of the Rhine, and the water at Amsterdam, is sixteen feet; the distance about twelve leagues. By this canal the King would have supplied the capital with excellent water, and formed a line of defence.

3rd. The basin in which ships are secured, and which forms the harbour of the city of Amsterdam, would soon be choked up by the silt, that the sea brings into it, if it were not

not cleaned out every year at great expense. The King had approved the plan by Blanken the engineer for bringing the harbour into good condition.

4th. The draining of the lake called the Zuid Plas, between Rotterdam and Gouda, ten thousand French acres in extent; an essential object, as this lake, situate in the centre of Holland, threatens Rotterdam, Gouda, and the heart of the province.

5th. The draining of the lake of Haarlem, about sixty thousand acres; a gigantic project, but not impracticable, and of prodigious utility. The plans have been drawn up, and examined by the central committee, instituted by the King.

6th. The draining of the lake of Waverween, three leagues from Amsterdam, about eight thousand French acres large. The King had already caused this plan to be drawn out.

7th. A plan for procuring fresh water at the Hague, where the water is stagnant in summer. The plan had been drawn up, ex-

amined, and was about to be carried into execution.

8th. A grand canal projected in East Friesland, from Aurich to Witmunt, four Dutch leagues in length, to form a communication from the interior of Holland to the Ihade; the mouth of which river was found on examination to be a favourable place for the establishment of a naval sea-port, and yards for building ships. This project had the farther view of bringing into cultivation and fertilizing the interior of East Friesland, at present a waste. The plans for this were in hand in July, 1810.

No. 2.

"The events, that have compelled me to resign the crown to the Prince Royal, are in great measure known to the sovereigns with whom I had any friendly connexion. Some time must elapse, before all the particulars can be disclosed. Retired to the territories of

of his Majesty the Emperor and King Francis II., I was desirous of imposing silence on myself; but I am now obliged to speak by the decree of the 9th of July, which the newspapers have conveyed to me. I am obliged to do so for the interest of my country, for my own justification, and in the name of the young King, at present a minor, but who must not lose the right to the crown given him by God and the nation, before he attains his majority.

"Present circumstances, which render it impossible to publish the least act or document without the consent of the Emperor my brother, the state of uncertainty and solitude in which I live, surrounded by persons, of whose fidelity I have no experience; will render the delivery and publication of this paper difficult: but the sentiments I feel for the Emperor Francis and the Emperor Alexander lead me to hope, that I shall at some future time find an opportunity of delivering it to them safely, and thus affording the nation and my son the means of claiming their

right, and justifying my memory, when circumstances will permit.

"The constitution of the state, guarantied by the Emperor my brother, gave me a right to abdicate in favour of my children. This abdication has taken place in the form and manner prescribed by the constitution.

"The Emperor had no right to declare war on Holland; and has not done it.

"There is no act, no consent, no demand, of the Dutch nation, that can authorize the pretended union. My abdication does not leave the throne vacant: I abdicate only in favour of my children and for them.

"This abdication, leaving Holland yet twelve years under a regency, that is to say, under the direct influence of the Emperor, according to the terms of the constitution, he could have no occasion for this union, to carry into execution all his wishes against trade and against England, since by it Holland had no longer any will but his own.

"This last consideration demonstrates in the face of the universe, of the sovereigns at peace

peace with France and with Holland, and of every Frenchman, that the quarrels, reproaches, and accusations, so often repeated in the newspapers, and the official papers issued against Holland and against me, were mere calumnies and pretexts, to pave the way for this union. Had not this long been the object of the political course pursued towards the King of Holland, the Emperor would have approved his abdication, which gave a ready and absolute power over the country, since according to the constitution he had a right to name the Regent. Thus then the name of the Emperor, of his brother, has been made the instrument of perfidy and death towards a whole people without hesitation!

"Thus then it is demonstrated, that the King was to serve against his will as a stepping-stone to the union, as the government of the Grand Pensionary served as a stepping-stone to the monarchy.

"But I ascended the throne without any other conditions, than those which were dictated by my conscience, my duties, and the interest

interest and welfare of my people. I declare therefore before God and the independent sovereigns, to whom I address myself:

"1st, That the treaty imposed on the 16th of March, 1810, which gave occasion to separate the provinces of Zealand and Brabant from Holland, was accepted on compulsion, and ratified by me conditionally at Paris, where I was detained against my will; and that, besides, it has never been executed on the part of the Emperor my brother. Instead of six thousand French, whom I was to maintain according to the terms of the treaty, this number was more than doubled: the French customhouse officers, instead of occupying only the mouths of rivers and the coasts, invaded the interior of the country: instead of confining themselves to measures, that concerned the blockade of England, magazines belonging to the state were seized, and Dutchmen were arbitrarily imprisoned; in fine, none of the verbal promises made by the minister of foreign affairs, the duke of Cadore, in the name of the Emperor, of granting indemnification for the country ceded

ceded by the said treaty, of mitigating its execution, if the King would rely entirely on the Emperor, &c., were kept. In consequence, I declare, in the name of myself, of the nation, and of my son, the treaty imposed on the 16th of March, 1810, by the Emperor, is null and void.

"2ndly, I declare, that my abdication did not take place till I was reduced to the last extremity, and compelled by the Emperor my brother to this only step left me, to preserve the rights of Holland, and of my children, and that it took place, and can take place, only in favour of these.

"3dly, In my name, that of the King, a minor, and that of the Dutch nation, I declare the pretended union of Holland to France, mentioned in the decree of the Emperor my brother, dated the 9th of July last, is null and void, illegal, unjust, and arbitrary in the eyes of God and man, all whose rights it infringes; reserving to the nation and to the King, now a minor, to claim their just rights, when circumstances will permit.

"Given

"Given at Toeplitz, in Bohemia, these presents written and signed with my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the state, this 1st day of August, 1810.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON."

No. 3.

"Louis Napoleon to the Conservative Senate of the French Empire:

"Senators; the Moniteur of the 15th is arrived. I was far from expecting the mortal wound, the irremediable blow, given me by the decree of the senate of the 10th of December.

"I owe it to the name of the Emperor, which is also my own, to my children, and to the people to whom I have belonged since the 5th of June, 1806, publicly to declare, as I do declare at this moment:

"That bound for ever, as well as my children, to the fate of Holland, I refuse for myself, as well as for them, the appanage mentioned in the said decree of the senate.

I order

I order the Queen, by the present deed, which I make known to her, to refuse for herself as well as for her children, the smallest part of such a gift, and to content herself with her own private property added to mine. I order, by the present deed, the sieur Twent, intendant general of the crown, to whom I have entrusted the management of this property, as having the charge of my private affairs, to put the Queen into possession of every thing that belongs to me personally, consisting of all the acquisitions, that have not been united to the domains of the crown by the deed of purchase since the 5th of June, 1806.

" I declare besides, that I disvouch all accusations, letters and writings, whatever, that would lead to a belief of my having betrayed my country, my people, myself; or failed in the duty I owe, and shall always be proud to owe, to France, my first country, which I have served from my infancy with my heart and soul. Placed on the throne of Holland in spite of myself, but bound to its fate by my affection, my oaths, and my most sacred duties,

ties, I will remain, and cannot wish but to remain, a Dutchman all my life.

In consequence I declare the gift of the said appanage null and void for myself, as well as for my children, and for their mother, annulling beforehand all consent or acceptance given directly or indirectly.

"In confirmation whereof I have drawn up this present act, written and signed with my own hand; I request the senate to receive it, and to make my refusal acceptable to the Emperor.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON."

"Gratz, Dec. the 30th, 1810."

No. 4.

"Gratz, Dec. the 30th, 1810.

"To the Queen,

"My grief and misfortunes would be at their height, were I capable of accepting the disgraceful appanage, which the decree of the senate, that I see in the Moniteur of the 15th of this month, destines for me and my children.

ren. I order you to refuse the smallest part of this vile and afflicting gift. I annul before hand all acceptance or consent that you may give, either for yourself or for my children. All my private property is for your use, and that of my children. I authorize you, by the annexed writing, to take possession of it; and this, with your own private property, will be sufficient, to enable you to live as a simple individual. As a Queen, wife, and mother, in every respect, any other gift will be an offence to you; and I disvouch it at all times, and in all places.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON."

Deed of Cession.

"I order, by this private writing and act, which I intend should have all the effect of a public act, the sieur Twent, who has the charge of my private affairs in Holland, and the council, that has the charge of my private affairs in France, to put the Queen into possession of all that belongs to me as an individual,

dual, as St. Leu, the hotel at Paris, the pavilion and houses at Haarlem, the pavilions of Soesdyk and purchases made near the village of Loo, the houses at Utrecht, &c. In case these premises should still be under sequestration, I authorize her Majesty the Queen, to take every step necessary to put herself in possession of them, taking sufficient precautions, not to accept what does not belong personally to myself."

No. 5.

"Deeply afflicted at the sufferings and losses of the grand army, after successes that have carried the French arms to the pole; conceiving how much you are hurried, and how urgent it is to collect every means of defence, at a moment when a terrible contest is about to continue, and preparing for still more fury; convinced, that there never was a period more critical for France, for your fame, for yourself; I should think myself wanting

wanting to all my duties at once, were I not to yield to the ardent impulse of my heart. I come then, sire, to offer to the country in which I was born, to you, to my name, the little health left me, and all the services of which I am capable, as far as I can do it with honour.

" Sire, I belong to Holland, to which you yourself gave me without my consent. I did not quit my kingdom till I had striven against my situation, as long as it was humanly possible for one born a Frenchman and your brother.

" Now Holland and commercial affairs become of secondary importance. It is possible, that it may be in your inclination, to bring back to you your brother, and that it is of moment to you, to secure Holland by itself. In this case, sire, deign to re-establish a kingdom, that was your own work; and I am ready to make every effort, to assist France and your Majesty in the grand struggle, that will no doubt continue more strenuously than ever. If such may be your intention, I only require a public document, that shall make known

known what my situation has been, and what it will be.

"I know, sire, that my means and my efforts are of little value; but I can offer only what is in my power.

"Whatever may have been thought of me, sire, I never have been, and never can be insensible or an alien to my name, to my mother, to my son.

"Whatever your determination may be, or whatever the course of events, let your Majesty reflect on all the privations, trials, solitude, sickness, &c., which I have borne, rather than have recourse to extremities; and be convinced, that there are within me, as in the heart of every man of honour, sentiments and principles, that nothing can destroy."

He sent this letter to the French ambassador at Vienna. It was enclosed in another, which the King wrote to his mother. The Emperor Napoleon sent an answer from Paris on the 16th of January. Though this letter was in a more temperate style than those formerly written, it contained some expressions personally offensive, and no way relating to political

political affairs: on this account, what was merely personal was omitted in copying it.

"Paris, January the 16th, 1813.

"My brother; I received your letter of the 1st of January, and I see with pleasure the sentiments that animate you. I have already made known to you, that your duties to me, to your country, and to your children, demanded your return to France*. Your children are growing up, and want their father. Return then without further delay, and I will receive you, not as a brother whom you have offended, but as a father who brought you up. As to the ideas you have of the state of my affairs, they are false. I

* The King had received no letter from his brother after he left Holland, previous to this of the 16th of January, 1813. The last he received from the Emperor, dated in May, 1810, ended, as has been seen, with the words: "this is the last letter I shall write to you as long as I live." The Emperor no doubt alludes to the letters the King received, immediately after his arrival at Gratz, from his mother, from all his acquaintance at Paris, and from the Prince of Neufchatel, to persuade him to go to France. The Prince did not address him in the name of the Emperor, but in that of his afflicted mother.

have

have a million of men on foot, and two hundred millions in my coffers, to maintain the integrity of the territory of the confederation and of my allies, and give success to the project I have formed for the happiness of my people. *Holland is for ever French: it is an emanation of our territory:* the outlet of our rivers: it can be happy only with France, and is fully sensible of this. By remaining in France, you do not separate yourself from Holland: but if you mean by separating from it renouncing its government, it is you yourself who have quitted it by abdicating, &c."

No. 6.

"Sire,

"The approach of war with France has made me think of quitting this country for several months. Desirous of being certain of not finding myself included in a hostile territory, I set out on the 10th of August; I write to you from the frontiers of Bavaria.

"The duke of Otranto, whom I saw as he passed

passed through Leybach, said a great deal to me. I concealed from him my intention, because I wished you should learn it from myself alone.

"Sire, it was my intention to retire to a secure and final retreat, of which I have more need than ever. Bosnia was open to me: bordering on the country where I dwelt, at peace, naturally the friend of France, it suited me in many respects, even in that of climate: but, sire, when I was on the point of setting out, I was informed of the disaster in Spain; I was informed, that the enemy in that quarter was on the frontiers; I saw that the war was imminent, that you were about to have a million of men in arms against you ..... I did not think myself at liberty to withdraw from the imminent and terrible crisis in preparation. I am not much; but what I am I owe in the first place to Holland, and next to France and to yourself. I am going therefore to Switzerland, to be within your call, if you think you can employ me, without depriving me of the hope of returning to Holland at a general peace, and in a way con-

sistent with the oath I have taken to it: for since it is impossible, that you can have intended to make of me and my children mere tools, it is impossible, but your Majesty must intend to restore them to Holland, when all affairs relating to navigation and commerce are concluded. In fine, sire, if ever I can be useful to France and to your Majesty, you will know better than I the way in which it will be most suitable to him of your brothers, who has become King of Holland . . . . . If this should never be the case, I shall be in a country, which at least will never cease to be a friend to France. When I went to Austria, I was persuaded, that the native land of the Empress of France would be long before it would be at war with her, and certainly not during my life.

"I request you to consider, sire, that I come to you to suffer; that I desire it more ardently in proportion as the danger increases; that in the unfortunate situation, in which I have been placed by events, it was my duty no longer to share the prosperity of my family, but not to withdraw from its perils.

My

May those, sire, by which it is threatened, be less real than I apprehend! But the armaments making are immense, and of a very different kind, and in a very different spirit, from what they have been before. All the world groans, and calls out for war against France. Sire, I do my duty towards Holland, and towards France, and towards yourself, in drawing near you all three, in placing myself more within your reach. I will never have to reproach myself, with having deprived them of my feeble efforts, be they what they may, by any fault of my own, and this conviction will console me, whatever may happen.

"Ischel, on the frontiers of Bavaria, August the 4th, 1813."

No. 7.

Extract from a work of Frederick Bucholz, published in 1813, in Germany, under the following title:

" Merk-wuerdige Urkunden die Abdankung des Koenigs von Holland betreffend. Mit einer geschichtlichen Eeinleitung. Von Friedrich Bucholz, Deutschland, 1813."
" Remarkable Documents relative to the Abdication of the King of Holland. With an Historical Introduction."

" Louis Napoleon accepted the crown of Holland less from inclination than from obedience to his brother. From his arrival the young king gained every heart, by declaring frankly, that he had been content with the rank of a French prince and constable of France.

" He was not a person of great qualities, or always decided in his opinions; but he had

had an honest heart. In this he was wonderfully suited to a nation, whose moral qualities had the greatest resemblance to his own.

"He always bore in mind, that he was not the tyrant of the Dutch, but their king. It appeared evident to him, that hereditary royalty imposed duties, which could not be fulfilled without a real love for its subjects; and the contentment of his subjects with their lot was his reward. This contentment appears very surprising, when the natural aversion of the Dutch to royalty is considered. But the reputation of the humane government of the King of Holland spread itself even into foreign lands; and among all the enemies of France there was not perhaps one, who was at the same time an enemy to Louis. . . . . .

. . . . . .

"The president of the council of state was the interpreter of the sentiments of the nation, when he said to Louis, on his return from Paris in 1810:

"*Your return, sire, was our first and last wish: it alone could console your subjects for the past!*

past! May your Majesty see your people happy!

"A king, for whom such wishes are expressed, is no doubt a good king. No one could better deserve universal goodwill than Louis; for no one ever conducted a government with so much self-denial, and so much sincere love for his subjects. From the wreck of his fortunes, which he supported with magnanimity, Louis saved the best thing a king can save, the testimony of a good conscience, and the character of an honest man.

"If he had need of any justification, he would find sufficient in the papers, which the Swedish government had published on its connexion with the French government since 1810.

"He has for ever acquired the esteem of the good."

Extract from a periodical work published in German, at Berlin, by Kotzebue, in 1812.

"Louis of Holland exerted himself to become

come the friend and protector of his people; he endeavoured to make himself a Dutchman. When the same power, that had placed him on the throne, compelled him to descend from it, he carried with him into retirement the love of his people and the esteem of Europe."

Extract from a German work, published at St. Petersburg in 1814, under the title of "The Emperor Napoleon shown in his Life and Actions," &c. Vol. II. p. 193, and following.

"The new King of Holland, good and honest, had the welfare of his subjects at heart, and wished to defend them. . . . .

"The speech he made on the day of his solemn entry into the Hague was the faithful expression of his sentiments. . . . . .

"He reigned agreeably to the principles he had avowed, and acquired the esteem and attachment of his subjects."

No. 8.

" Soleure, November the 25th, 1813.

To the Magistrates of Amsterdam.

" Gentlemen,

" The new circumstances in which Holland is placed oblige me to quit my retreat. They must either complete the obligations, that have attached me to your country these eight years, or separate me from it entirely.

" It is to know the sentiments of the nation with respect to me therefore, sentiments by which my future conduct will be guided, that I address myself to you, not only as the capital of the United Provinces, but as their natural representatives, when there is no other general representation of the country.

" When Providence permitted me to ascend the throne of your country, without my having sought or desired the honour, I was determined only by the following considerations.

" 1st. That the last stadtholder had died, without

without ever having consented to renounce the stadtholdership, or to receive any indemnity or compensation.

"2ndly. That his son, the hereditary prince, on the contrary, had formally renounced it, and received the principality of Fulda as an indemnification.

" 3rdly. That the princes of this illustrious house, to which your country is under such great obligations, were not however the sovereigns of Holland.

" 4thly. In fine, I imagined, that a friendly connexion and conformity of interests with France would contribute more than any thing, to produce a state of peace and neutrality, the first basis and chief object of the policy of your country.

" After my accession I soon found, that to act conscientiously, I must act as the head of an independent nation, formed to be its shield and chief magistrate, leaving entirely out of consideration the circumstance of my having been raised to my situation principally by chance. This I endeavoured to do. If the nation suffered under my reign, it suffered comparatively

comparatively little to what it otherwise would have done. Its situation since 1810, that of Poland, of Saxony, and of Hamburg, prove this but too clearly.

"The years 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810, were the most painful to be found in the history of the interior administration of a country. When it was supposed, that Holland could not support for three months the enormous weight of its finances, which its foreign connexions were incessantly aggravating, it resisted for five years a blockade by land and sea, forced armaments, all sorts of obstacles, fetters, and snares for a man previously an entire stranger to your country, and standing alone among the wiles of that policy, which ought to have been his guide and support, of the foes to the new order of things in Holland, and of the enemies of France. I made every effort humanly possible: I alone knew the whole of what I had to do for Holland in silence and unassisted. I strove incessantly and perseveringly; yielding to inevitable innovations with as much delay as possible, and endeavouring to reach the period of a general

general peace, or real independence. My design was, at the arrival of this desired period, to consult the nation freely assembled; and to do every thing, *without exception*, which it might deem necessary and proper for its welfare.

"When, after the landing of the English at Walcheren, I was obliged to repair to Paris, as at the period of my abdication, my object was, to resist an all-powerful force divested of every other argument; to contest inch by inch the approaching catastrophe of Holland with him, who had vanquished all the great powers of Europe; to preserve intact the rights of the country, in spite of the plots and opinions of Dutchmen secretly perverted, and, when I was obliged to cede the crown, to cede it to my children alone; not to hesitate at sacrificing my own private interest to the preservation of the rights of the country, and the hope resulting from my abdication, and the appointment of a king in the state of minority, whom the constitution placed under the protection and almost under the government of France, whose nullity, which

which had still thirteen years to continue, took away every shadow of a pretext against Holland; and thus to withdraw from the grasp of power a King, whom France appeared to have raised to the throne by her influence, solely for the purpose of making him the compulsory agent of a union between the two countries.

"If by adopting another mode of conduct, as I was on the point of doing, I had remained at Amsterdam a simple tool, or we had had recourse to arms, the fate of Holland would have been the same as that of Poland, Saxony, or Hamburg. You would not have been able, as you now are, to claim from all your powerful neighbours perfect neutrality and independence, and to avoid the inevitable recurrence of animosity. I could not be useful to your country in the same way as the house of Orange; another Dutch prince, under the same protection, would have been at least useless; even if I could have allowed myself, to be induced to attempt a defence, which would only have served, to have given a plausible right to conquest.

conquest. I ought not and could not be useful to you, but by preserving my personal independence of France, without becoming its enemy.

" Accordingly since my abdication I remained at Gratz in Austria; and, after residing three years in that town, I am come to dwell in the Swiss Cantons: 1st, that I might not place myself in a state of hostility against France; and 2dly, to be nearer at hand to serve Holland, if circumstances should permit this.

" Already in 1812, after the retreat from Russia, I took every step I could, while at Gratz, for the liberty of Holland; but they were fruitless, in spite of all my endeavours.

" After my arrival in Switzerland three months had scarcely elapsed, when, on the 27th of October last, being at Basil, I heard of the retreat of the French armies on the Rhine, and the evacuation of Germany. I then foresaw that Holland would either revolt or be occupied by the allies.

" Faithful to my way of thinking, which experience has but too well confirmed, I was desirous of availing myself of the only opportunity

tunity, from the establishment of a counterpoise in Germany, and the approaching evacuation of Holland, to place the country in a state of real independence, and of perfect neutrality; the only state that is suited to Holland, without which soon or late it must be ruined, and which is equally suitable to all the belligerent powers. I sent a person to Mentz, to the Emperor of the French, and another to the Empress Regent at Paris, demanding, with the evacuation of Holland, liberty for myself to pass through France. Had these been granted, sure, by being permitted the passage, that France was not my enemy, and that I had her tacit, but evident consent, I should have convened the nation immediately on my arrival; I should have told you my opinion, and you would have done what you deemed most suitable to your political situation, and to your constitution, ready, if you had preferred the house of Orange, to retire, but not without having fulfilled my last duty towards you.

"On the 3d of November I arrived at Pont sur Seine near Paris, where I received answers by no means favourable to one part of my demand,

demand, and none on the most essential points. I then learned, that the evacuation of Holland was not determined upon; and returned to my retreat in Switzerland, where only I received from Mentz an indirect answer more than negative.

"In this state of affairs I wrote to Mr. Bylandt Halt, one of the last presidents of the Legislative Body; to Messrs. Roell and Krayenhoff, formerly ministers; William Willink, counsellor of state, and professor van Gennep, with whose enlightened understanding, patriotism and character, I was well acquainted. I know not whether these letters reached their hands; but as I send them duplicates by the same opportunity as this letter, you will know what they were. My purpose, as you will see, was, to make known in Holland what my conduct and sentiments were. I have since been informed of all that has passed; and in this state of things I have considered, that for three years and half I have been a solitary being, wandering in foreign countries; that I have absolutely renounced my native country, in order to remain faithful to the system, which I thought must prove

prove beneficial to Holland; but that if my new country, to which I have attached myself for these eight years, slip from me, I shall still find myself without a friend, without a tie; that however in the important circumstances in which Europe is now placed, envy urges me, to take a decided part, to be no longer the sport of events, to become entirely free in my actions, and to persevere in fulfilling my duty to the Dutch.

"In addressing myself to you, gentlemen; in considering you as the representatives of the nation, when it has no general representative body; and in requesting your decision; it is the last duty I conceive I am fulfilling. Be this decision what it may, I request you to inform me of it as speedily as possible.

"I terminate this declaration highly important to myself, by the sincerest wish for the happiness of Holland, and by the demand which I make with this view.

"1st, Not to be tied down by the old constitution, but to complete what the Utrecht act of union did but sketch. In short to establish a free, but monarchical government, on the model of that of England or of Sweden:

den: without which the state of Holland will always be precarious, and dependent on different causes foreign to itself.

"2dly, Not to be carried away by extravagance and animosity, to consider, that a state of peace and neutrality is the only safeguard of the country: that your armed force should be the greatest possible at this moment, but solely in order to maintain the independence of your ancient territory, keep from it the presence of any foreign army, and carefully avoid becoming the seat of war.

"Whatever your answer may be, I am and shall ever remain unalterably and affectionately attached to your country."

No. 9.

"The King of Holland, who since the month of July, 1810, has borne the title of the Count de St. Leu, having read in the Lausanne gazette of the 17th of this month, No. 48, a convention signed at Fontainbleau the 11th of April last, in which he finds himself included, declares, that he renounces for

himself all the advantages given him by the 6th article of that act.

"He declares further, that, no one having a right to accept or stipulate any advantages whatever for his children, he renounces for them, and disapproves every thing that may have been done, or shall in future be done, with respect to them, as long as they are separated from him.

"The Count de St. Leu, a private individual since his abdication in 1810, living in this character, and a stranger to any other situation, has refused all the offers that have been made him, either during the three years of his residence in the territories of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, or during his abode in Switzerland towards the end of last year, as well as at Paris during the first three months of the present year, when the recent events in Holland, disengaging him from his obligations to that country by the recall of the Prince of Orange, allowed him to return to the country, under the laws of which he was born, and lastly to Lausanne, where he has dwelt since the 25th of April, and where the reports of stipulations, similar to those

mentioned

mentioned in the gazette of this town, induced him to take in the course of last month all the steps necessary, to renounce beforehand what might relate to him in those stipulations.

"M. de St. Leu protested against the decree of the Senate of the 10th of December, 1810, by which an appanage was conferred on him surrounding his estate of St. Leu, as an indemnification for Holland; an act of which he was informed at Gratz, where he then resided, by the Moniteur of the 15th of the same month. Scarcely was he acquainted with it, when, hurt by an arrangement contrary to his principles, he hastened to address to the proper authorities his formal protests and refusals, as the three following pieces confirm." (Here followed his letter to the Senate of the 30th of December, 1810, that to the Queen, and the act of cession to the latter of the same date, which have been inserted already in Nos. 3 and 4.)

"These three pieces were forwarded to the places of their destination; and duplicates of them enclosed in a packet, under the seal of the count de St. Leu, not to be opened till

till his death, or by his order, were sent to Mr. Bondt, notary royal at Amsterdam, and delivered into his hands in January, 1811, where no doubt they still remain.

"In consequence the Count de St. Leu here declares, that every acceptance, and every act of possession, that may have been exercised on the said appanage, have been not only without his knowledge, but contrary to his formal injunctions: and he orders every retainer or administrator of the said estates, to give them up immediately, if they hold and manage them in his name, or in those of his children, or of their mother; to restore them without delay to the persons, from whom they immediately received them; and to retain no other dependencies on his estate of St. Leu, but those which existed in 1809, and which alone belong to him.

"Done at Lausanne, and the original deposited in the study of Ege. Bressenel, notary public in that town, June the 28th, 1814."

THE END.

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